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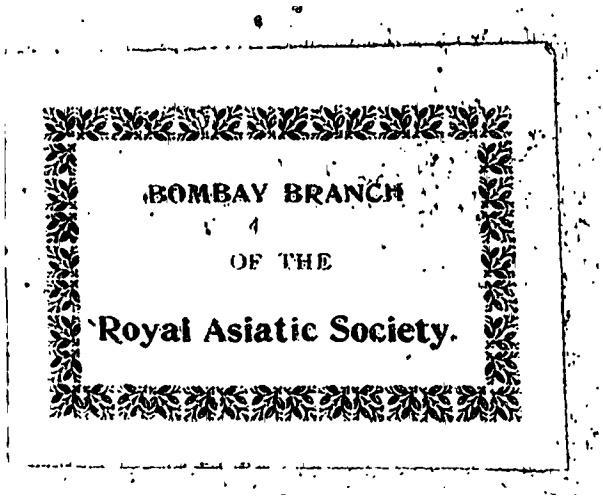

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PREFACE.

The present volume is divided into two parts[1]—the former relating the sequel of the Lutheran reformation, and the latter the commencement and progress of that of Switzerland, to the close of the year 1527.

In the former, it cannot but be gratifying to the reader who has a taste for these studies, and who has long witnessed the zeal and firmness of the good Elector of Saxony as an independent prince, to contemplate his truly Christian conduct, and the support which his principles afforded him, when reduced to adversity. The lovely mind of Melancthon is here also exhibited, it is hoped, in a just light, and his character vindicated from many aspersions injuriously cast upon it. The examination of some of his works, particularly his Common Places, introduces discussions, and affords a view of the progress of an enlightened, devout, and humble mind, which may prove instructive, especially to the younger class of theological students.

The notice of the Council of Trent presents a curious history, uniting the mournful and the ludicrous in no common degree. Alas! to what authorities have professed Christians deferred, and to what guides have they implicitly yielded the direction of their faith and their consciences, when they have once surrendered "the oracles of God," or failed to seek the illumination of his Spirit to lead to the just understanding and use of them!

[1] They were, in fact, published separately.

It was much my wish to have at once brought down the history of the Swiss reformation to the death of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, at the close of the year 1531—concluding the volume with some more copious specimens of the correspondence of those two great men, and with a review of some of the principal works of the former of them; and I had prepared my materials accordingly: but it was found not practicable to comprise the whole within the prescribed limits: and, as the public does not appear to look favourably upon *parts* of volumes, my remaining manuscript must be reserved till the history of the Swiss church to the death of Calvin (A. D. 1564,) can be added to it.

How far the story of the reformation effected by Zwingle and his associates may be thought to approach, in interest, to that of the like revolution wrought by means of Luther, I presume not to determine. It must be remembered that the former here *succeeds* the latter, and by that means loses much of the charm of novelty. Many also of those details, which gave importance to a *first* narrative, would in this have been an unnecessary and unwarranted repetition. Other points of comparison likewise present themselves, in most of which the disadvantage seems to fall on the side of Switzerland. The hero of the German reformation occupied the stage, and fixed the public eye, for nearly thirty years; whereas Zwingle was removed at the end of half that period. In Switzerland, shut up within its own mountains, and consisting of a number of small independent republics, the reformers were not committed, nor their energies called forth, against any such formidable antagonists as their brethren in Germany had to encounter; and, however great the advantage of such a circumstance in other

and more important respects, in point of historic effect it must be acknowledged to be injurious. It has been thought, indeed, that, as the reformation in Switzerland was effected "more by open discussion, and less by political influence," its history must be the more satisfactory and edifying of the two to the Christian student. But I can only very partially admit the fact here assumed. The governments of the several Swiss states appear to have borne to the full as great a share in the religious changes made, as any of the princes did in Germany. If it was to the popular voice, sometimes even contrary to the wishes of the rulers, that the reformation was conceded in the former country; there were not wanting instances of the same kind in the latter.[1] Moreover the Swiss sovereignties, being vested in collective bodies, were liable to the influence of still more mixed and varied motives than individual princes were; while we lose among them the high interest and important instruction, which such examples of personal wisdom, constancy, and piety, as the three successive electors of Saxony, to name no other individuals, afford us. Numerous as were the senators and officers of state who promoted the reformation of the Swiss Cantons, scarcely any eminent layman, with the exception of Joachim Vadian, of S. Gallen, leaves a distinct trace upon the memory. Here also, if public discussions, or "disputations," produced more effect, books seem to have produced less: and to posterity, at least, this is a disadvantage. Once more: though Zwingle was a noble character, not inferior, perhaps, to his great fellow-reformer in clearness and force of intellect, and probably in learning,

[1] See, e. g. vol. i. p. 257-8.

and certainly in calmness of mind and temperateness of style, his superior; and though he taught, and lived under the influence of the same gospel; yet he had less warmth of heart, and less depth of Christian experience: and on both these accounts he must fail to interest and edify us in an equal degree. Yet we shall find much in him, as well as in his mild, holy, and learned fellow-labourer, Œcolampadius, to excite our admiration, and call forth our praise to God: and certainly the whole history of this branch of the *blessed* reformation deserves to be detailed much more particularly, than it has hitherto been to the people of this country. I hope therefore to have my attempt in this part of my work regarded with a favourable eye, and to be encouraged to proceed with accounts which, I trust, may possess even increasing importance.

All that remains for this prefatory address is to furnish, as in the former volume, some notices of the authors from whom my materials have been derived.

Sleidan, Scultetus, Camerarius, (the friend and biographer of Melancthon,) Father Paul, and Melchior Adam are already sufficiently known to my readers, or will become so as we have occasion to make further use of them. Of Vargas, who must be numbered among the historians of the council of Trent, such an account as is necessary is given, at pp. 257, 314, 315 of the volume itself; as well as some vindication of Father Paul's History, and some notice of his translator and commentator, Dr. Courayer, at pp. 312—314. The Epistles and Consilia of Melancthon, of which much use is here made, have been before described.[1] The edition of Melancthon's Works

[1] Pref. to vol. i. p. xvii.

which I use, is that printed at Wittemberg, 1580. The work of David Chytræus on Saxon affairs ("Saxonia") is a folio volume, printed in 1599. The author was a learned Lutheran divine, who published also a History of the Confession of Augsburg, and other works. He was born in the year 1530, and studied at Tubingen, and then under Melancthon at Wittemberg; though he appears afterwards to have attached himself to a different party than that of the mild reformer. He held a professorship at Rostoch; and died in the year 1600.

Of Thuanus, I regretted that I had not a sufficient apology for giving an account in my former preface: that apology is now furnished, in the further use made of his great work in this volume; and I shall avail myself of it, as I have been much interested with his personal history, and believe that in briefly sketching it I am directing the attention of my readers to a member of the true *church of Christ*, though he lived and died in communion with Rome.—James Augustus Thuanus, or de Thou, was a president of the parliament of Paris—as his father had been before him. He was born in 1553, and died in 1617. He was employed in public affairs during the reigns of Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV, of France: but he is immortalized by the History of his own Time, from 1546 to 1607, which he composed in one hundred and thirty-eight books, in an elegant and easy Latin style. This great man was in his childhood extremely weakly, so that the hope of preserving his life was abandoned: and his crib was removed from his father's antechamber that he might not die there; and a female relation, who anxiously watched over him, was desired not to risk her own health by tending

a hopeless charge. Hence of necessity the regular course of his education was interrupted, and he was left in a great degree to pursue his own plans: yet how distinguished his attainments were may be in some degree judged from what has been already recorded. His house was the resort of men of learning and genius, with whom he passed his time in the most agreeable and improving manner—each pursuing his own studies, and all communicating the result of their respective inquiries for the common information. He collected one of the finest private libraries in Europe; which he anxiously, but in vain, endeavoured to have kept together for the benefit of posterity. It is remarkable, that from twenty years of age he formed the design of writing the history of his own times, as a main work of his life; and from that period he made regular collections for the purpose.—He was distinguished for simplicity and integrity. Though he continued to the last a Roman catholic, yet he has treated the protestants, and the proceedings of the French government against them, (including the great massacre and the civil wars,) in such a manner as caused him to be styled at Rome a heretic, and his History to be placed in the list of prohibited books. The fault of his great work is its being so minute, and consequently so prolix, that it can scarcely be expected to find readers except among those who consult it in furtherance of works of their own. Incomparably the best edition of it was printed in England, under the patronage of Dr. Mead and the editorial care of our historian Carte;[1] and it extends to seven folio volumes![1]—His Preface, or Dedication of his History to Henry IV, is one

[1] Printed for Buckley, London, 1733.

of the three most admired compositions of that kind—the other two being Calvin's dedication of his Institutions to Francis I, and Casaubon's of his edition of Polybius, likewise to Henry IV. The design of Thuanus's Preface is to recommend toleration, or religious liberty, as the only remedy for the evils which had so long afflicted Christendom, and France in particular: and this theme he pursues in a strain that I have not found in any other writer of that period. He says, "Experience has taught us, that fire and sword, exile and proscription, rather irritate than heal the distemper that has its seat in the mind. These only affect the body; but judicious and edifying doctrine, gently instilled, descends into the heart." "Religion is not subject to command, but is infused into well-prepared minds by a conviction of the truth, with the concurrence of divine grace. Tortures have no influence over her: in fact, they rather tend to make men obstinate, than to subdue or persuade them. . . . Confiding in the support of God's grace, the religious man is content to suffer; and the ills, to which mortality is liable, he takes to himself without complaint. . . . Let the executioner stand before him; let him prepare tortures, whet the knife, and kindle the pile; he will still persevere: and his mind will dwell, not upon what he is to *endure*, but upon the part which it behoves him to *act*. His happiness is within his own bosom, and whatever assails him outwardly is trivial, and only grazes the surface of the body. . . . . Consider the conduct of one of those who perished by torture for their religious opinions. When bound to the stake, he began with bended knees to sing a hymn, regardless of the smoke and flames: and, when the executioner would have set fire to the pile behind him, 'Come

hither,' said he, 'and kindle it before my face: if I could have felt dread, I should have avoided *coming* to this place.' Tortures therefore by no means repress the ardor of innovators in religion: but their minds are rather hardened by them, to suffer and attempt more. . . . . France has now witnessed this visitation for forty years, and the Netherlands nearly as long. . . . . Mild persuasion and amicable conference may still conciliate those, whom force cannot subdue."

Thuanus thus writes concerning himself, in the third person, in a memoir which he has left of his life: "Besides the daily prayers, which every Christian ought to offer at his rising, he has told me that he made one applicable to his work, and never sat down to composition without first begging God to enlighten him with a knowledge of the truth, and enable him to follow its dictates without flattery or detraction."—How does such a contrast reproach the irreligion of our Humes and our Gibbons, not to say also the coldness of our clerical historian Robertson!—His description of the style of writing which he had cultivated is admirable. "Lastly, I have aimed to acquire a plain and simple style, the image of a mind averse from vain and ostentatious ornament, equally free from asperity and adulation." "I was induced," he says, "to begin to write in camps, in the midst of sieges, and the noise of arms: and my work has been continued and completed in Your Majesty's court, amongst the oppressive labours of the law, foreign journies, and other avocations."

The exordium of his will is a beautiful specimen of those avowals of their faith and piety towards God, as well as affection towards their families, which our forefathers frequently introduced in such a connexion; and in which it is perhaps no proof of our improved taste, any more than of our

increased virtue, that we have so entirely ceased to imitate them. It is as follows: "In the name of the sacred and undivided Trinity. Since it has pleased God that my beloved wife, Gaspara de la Chastre, who I always wished and hoped might survive me, has, contrary to the order of nature, departed before me, I, James Augustus de Thou, the chief and most miserable of sinners, am admonished by her lamented death to think seriously of my own, and to make this declaration of my last will and testament.—First of all, I render all possible thanks to Almighty God, that he caused me to be born of faithful parents, regenerated me in his church by the sacred laver, made me partaker of his sacraments, and impressed on my mind a living, and not a dead faith, having conjoined with it the hope of eternal life; which consists in this, that we believe in God, and in Him whom he hath sent, even his beloved Son, the eternal Word, begotten before all ages, Jesus Christ, who was conceived, &c. &c. In this faith I profess that I live; and with the most earnest prayers and tears I plead with God that I may persevere in it, constantly and without wavering, to my last breath: and I implore that, of his unbounded mercy, he would purge me, who was conceived and born in sin, from the pollutions of human infirmity; and, unworthy as I am, make me worthy to be his habitation, and apply to me the merit of the passion of his most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, for the expiation of my sins; that, when the last hour of my life, not unprepared for, shall arrive, I may be carried by his angels to Abraham's bosom, there with his holy and elect people to enjoy eternal felicity.—This premised, I nominate and appoint for guardians of my children—borne to me by my loving wife, whose loss I must inconsolably deplore,

except as my grief is relieved by the hope of the resurrection—Henry de la Chastre, &c. &c.—Such was the illustrious historian Thuanus.[1]

In the history of the Swiss reformation, besides the Works of Zwingle, (four volumes folio, Zuric, 1581,) and the scarce volume, "D. D. Joannis Œcolampadii et Huldrici Zwinglii Epistolarum libri quatuor, Basileæ, 1536," folio; I have chiefly followed Ruchat and Gerdes, consulting also the Historia Ecclesiastica of J. H. Hottinger, and the biographical accounts of Zwingle by Oswald Myconius, his contemporary and friend, and the modern writer J. G. Hess.

Of "Abraham Ruchat, M. D. S. E.," I am able to give little further account, than that he was a clergyman, professor of the belles lettres in the university of Lausanne; and that his "Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse" was printed at Geneva, 1727-8, in six volumes, 12mo. It is a work highly esteemed on the continent, and is much referred to. It appears to have been compiled with great care from the best authorities, both printed and manuscript—of which the author gives an account in his preface, pp. xxi—xxviii. It is written upon good principles, and, as will appear from some passages quoted, with a becoming spirit of piety. I shall here add an extract from the preface, both for the sentiments which it contains, and to illustrate the principles and temper of the author. "I have endeavoured to write with all possible impartiality. But by impartiality I do not understand an indifference to religion; nor do I think that this virtue consists

[1] My notice of him is drawn from his Life by the Rev. John Collinson, 8vo, London, 1807: which again is derived chiefly from the collections respecting him, annexed to the above-mentioned edition of his history.

in writing with such coldness, as leaves the reader at a loss to divine what the religion of the historian is. I think that an honest man ought never to dissemble his religion, or to be backward to speak according to its principles; if only he does it with temper. For example, when the ancient historians of the church spoke of the propagation of the gospel throughout the world, I doubt not that the Pagans esteemed them partial: but where is the Christian who thinks them blameable on that ground? So, for my own part, I am a reformed Christian, and a minister of the evangelical profession: I am of this religion not only through the privilege of my birth, but from knowing the grounds of it, and without a blind obstinacy. I regard the Romish religion as an idolatrous one, or rather (with many learned moderns,) as a confused mass of vain superstitions—at once puerile and dangerous; and as a faction, which supports itself only by ignorance and self-interest, by violence and fraud. The reformation, on the contrary, I regard as the most precious boon which God has ever granted to my country since the first introduction of Christianity into it. I can speak of these subjects in no other tone or language than this. If this is called partiality, I cannot help it. I believe that I ought not either to think otherwise, or to disguise my sentiments. —But, under the indulgence of the critics, I am of opinion, that genuine historic impartiality consists in the observance of the two following rules: 1. To report facts with entire fidelity, without suppressing or dissembling any thing through favour for the party espoused, and without overcharging, adding, or altering any thing to prejudice the opposite party: for it frequently, and indeed generally, happens that the single circumstance of more or less," some apparently

trifling addition or subduction in the narrative, "alters the whole character of an action.—The second rule is, to speak of opponents with moderation: and, with respect to them, to abstain from all bitterness, and from every injurious and offensive expression.—Whenever a Roman-catholic historian observes these two rules, I regard him as sincere and impartial: and such is the character which the illustrious president de Thou has gained for himself, by observing them in his noble history . . . . This is what I flatter myself I have done in the following work. I can perfectly well distinguish between the persons of Roman-catholics and their religion, and render to honourable men, such as there are among them, the justice which is their due. I can also distinguish between protestants and the religion *they* profess; report their faults with fidelity, and blame them without ceremony when I think they deserve it. But I feel myself at liberty also to defend them, though with calmness, when they appear to me to be unjustly censured. This is what I consider as the second rule.—With respect to the first, my readers may rest assured that I religiously observe what the truth of history demands. Truth is the very soul of historic writing. Without it, it is not a history, but a romance. To write a romance and give it the name of a history is the proceeding of a dishonest man—especially when it is done with a malicious design: it is a criminal tissue of lying, of which an account must be rendered to the great Judge of the world. Persuaded of this truth, I have always written as one that must another day be answerable for whatever has passed his pen."—These are the sentiments of good sense, of genuine protestantism, and of true Christianity; and it is deeply to be lamented, that, in this "enlightened

age," so many should have widely departed from some of them.

Daniel Gerdesius, or Gerdes, was a professor of divinity at Groningen. He was born at Bremen in 1698, and died in 1765. He was the author of several learned works, of which it may suffice here to mention two, "Historia Reformationis, sive Annales Evangelii seculo xvi passim per Europam renovati, Doctrinæque reformatæ," four volumes 4to, Groningen, 1744—1752; and "Scrinium Antiquarium, sive Miscellanea Groningana nova, ad historiam Reformatæ Ecclesiæ præcipue spectantia"—a very curious collection, likewise in four volumes 4to, Groningen and Bremen, 1749—1765. The former is the work referred to in this volume. It is learned and accurate, and contains much important matter and many valuable documents; but is dry: and, like most of my other authorities, it has rather wearied and embarrassed me, by the constantly recurring review (to which the form of annals leads,) of the progress of the reformation in the several states of the Helvetic republic.

The name of Hottinger is common to two writers, a father and son, who both treat of subjects connected with our history. The former, John Henry Hottinger, a learned orientalist and divine, was born at Zuric in 1620, and drowned, with part of his family, in 1667, when setting out for Leyden, to take possesion of a professorship which he had been allowed by his country to accept in that city. Among many other works he wrote "Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti," in nine volumes 8vo. The sixth, seventh, and eighth, which I have had occasion to use, were printed at Zuric, 1665—1667. He has preserved many valuable documents; but he rather collects

materials for a history, than is at the pains to compose one.

John James Hottinger, the son, was, like his father, a professor at Zuric, born 1652, died 1735. His Ecclesiastical History of Switzerland, in the German language, ("Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichten,") three volumes 4to, Zuric, 1698—1707, appears to be a very valuable work. The last volume extends from the year 1515 to 1700, and, of course, details the history of the Swiss reformation. But this work I have never been able to procure—a disadvantage to which I have perhaps more patiently submitted, from the consideration that I should have needed the assistance of an interpreter to make me acquainted with its contents; and under which I have been consoled by the hope, that, from the closeness with which Ruchat appears to follow this author, I have in his volumes every thing most valuable to be found in the other. I shall here transcribe Ruchat's observation on J. J. Hottinger's History. "This work must have cost the illustrious author an infinity of research; and I think it well deserves to be translated into some language more generally understood. To the third volume my references are perpetual; and I acknowledge that I have drawn more from it than from all other books taken together."

With Myconius the reader will become acquainted as we proceed. His brief biography of Zwingle is prefixed to the Letters of Œcolampadius and Zwingle, already mentioned. The modern Life of Zwingle by J. G. Hess was written in French, during the rule of Bonaparte. My copy is an English translation by Miss Lucy Aikin, London, 1812. It is a sensible and elegant little work, and appears, in the main, to be

accurate; though not sufficiently elaborate to be appealed to on any doubtful question. The author professes chiefly to follow Bullinger's "Schweitzer Chronick," a work of that celebrated reformer, which, I believe, still exists only in manuscript, at Zuric. I much suspect, however, that M. Hess's acquaintance with it is only through the medium of J. J. Hottinger's History. It seems much to be regretted that such a work, of such an author as Bullinger, should never have been communicated to the world.

Hull, June, 1829.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SMALKALDIC WAR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM.

A. D. 1546.

Smalkaldic War.

It belongs not to this work to detail the events of the Smalkaldic war. The reader must be referred for them to those authors who have written the secular history of the times.[1] A few of the leading features of these transactions are all that must here be noticed.

It will easily be conceived how melancholy an impression would be made upon all peaceable and pious minds by the last recorded event of the preceding volume, when the diet of Ratisbon broke up, and both parties openly prepared for war.[2] It is interesting to be allowed to contemplate that impression, softened and alleviated by a devout resignation, as it is exhibited in the following letter of Melancthon to his friend Camerarius, dated only four days after.

July 24.

Letter of Melancthon. July 28.

"I thank you for repeatedly endeavouring to abate my sadness by your letters; particularly because I see, that, in doing this, you endeavour to rise above your own distress, by means of the consolations which God has provided for us. I must confess, that, under our common calamity, the thought of your

[1] Robertson, books viii and ix. vol. iii. 325—369, 386—427.

[2] Vol. i. 427.

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affliction often increases my own: but, I entreat you, continue to support yourself with these consolations. Soothe your mind also in the society of your excellent wife and your sweet children.—Ah, but you will say, when I look upon them it does but aggravate my anxiety.—True, it must do so sometimes. Yet consider, that God makes the families of his servants the objects of his care, even amid the ruin of empires.—The present is not the first commencement of my painful feelings, or of my conviction that we should have to suffer oppression. Long since, as you well know, I have been deeply affected by observing, not only the fury of our enemies, but the vices and sins of our own people.[1] Though therefore my feelings are more acute in this crisis of the calamity, yet, as in the case of diseases of long continuance, I have become in some degree prepared for it: and, while I revolve with myself all that is urged concerning the causes of the war, the characters and views of the leaders, the probable conduct of the military enterprises, their issue, and what may be the event of the whole, I rest in the sentence of Gamaliel, *If this counsel, or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it:* and with earnest sighs and prayers I seek a salutary issue for the church of God.—With my own private danger I am not much affected. Should I lose my life, and thus afford some little triumph to them that rejoice in iniquity, (whose number,

[1] Compare Epist. iv. 648, (written in 1544,) where he adopts the words of Pericles, "I am more alarmed at our own corruptions, than at the machinations of our enemies;" yet expresses his confidence that God would preserve the church in which his true gospel was proclaimed.

alas! is great on every side,) their triumphing will be short. In such circumstances, conscious uprightness is a great support.—Some, I trust, have been enlightened by means of our instructions—which would have been more unexceptionable, but for the confusions of the times.—I have thus written briefly to you, to relieve your anxiety for me... Events, we may be assured, will be different from what either one party or the other anticipates."[1] A. D. 1546.

Melancthon had, no doubt, numbers throughout reformed Germany to sympathise with him in these pious sentiments, and in his sighs and prayers for the church—which, as his numerous epistles testify, he was never weary of offering: and such persons were the true "chariots and horsemen"[2] of their Israel, who did more for the cause in which they were embarked, than the troops of the elector and the landgrave could effect; and, when the latter were defeated and dispersed, they still availed to bring about happy events, "different from what had been anticipated by either party."

Parties in the War.

The actual commencement of hostilities on the part of the emperor was an event calculated to try the principle and steadiness of all professed protestants: and accordingly, while it displayed the firmness of the elector of Saxony and many principal members of the league, it detected the weakness of some, and the wickedness of others, who still avowed attachment to the protestant cause. The emperor's protestations, that he made not war on account of religion, but only to put down insubordination and to punish rebellion, im-

[1] Mel. Epist. iv. 703. [2] 2 Kings ii. 12.

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posed upon some, and furnished to others, who ought, upon every principle of honour and religion, to have appeared on the other side, a pretext for attaching themselves to him. Among those who weakly took part with the emperor we may reckon John of Brandenburg,[1] Eric of Brunswick, and George of Mecklenburg. Ulric of Würtemberg and the city of Frankfort were also, at an early period, so far overawed as to join them; while Joachim elector of Brandenburg, and Frederic elector Palatine professed to stand neuter; and Maurice of Saxony, having, with deliberate and too successful villainy, formed the plan of possessing himself, by means of these troubles, of the dominions and dignities of the elector, avowed his reliance on the emperor's word for the safety of religion, and secretly entered into a treaty with him to support him in the contest.[2] In the Archbishop of Cologne, an aged ecclesiastic, who, though a sincere protestant, had never joined the league, and was now also under sentence of deposition for his religion, the observance of neutrality, in obedience to the emperor's command, might well be excused.— On the other part, besides the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, with the brother and the eldest son of the former; Philip duke of Brunswick Calenberg and his four sons, Francis duke of Lunenberg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Christopher count Henneberg,[3] and Albert count Mansfeld openly ranged themselves.[4] The city of Strasburg also did itself immortal honour by the part it acted, both at the commencement of the war, and after its

[1] Vol. i. 261. [2] Robertson, iii. 353, 354. [3] Vol. i. 385.
[4] Sleidan, 375, 376, 384, 385, 395, 412—414.

conclusion.[1] To it, in common with the other free cities in the protestant interest, the emperor addressed an insidious letter, professing to separate their cause from that of the princes of the same persuasion; representing that there existed a conspiracy against their liberties and those of Germany; and exhorting them to join him in putting down those traitorous persons, who were their common enemies. The senate replied, in dutiful but decided terms, advocating the cause of the reformation, asserting the fidelity of the princes, (of which the emperor, they said, had had large experience in the wars against the Turks,) and insisting that he had been taught to think injuriously of them by the pope and his adherents—the real authors of the present counsels; and imploring him to pause and reflect before he involved Germany in all the horrors of civil war.[2] A. D. 1546.

After all the artifice practised and the secret preparations made by the emperor, the zeal of the protestants, when they saw war to be inevitable, anticipated him. They were first ready, and in great force,[3] to take the field: and, had it not been for the hesitation with which men, and especially conscientious men, strike the first blow in a civil war, it seems not improbable that they might have stormed his camp at Ingoldstadt, and dispersed his half-collected army at the very outset.[4] Before this also Schertel, a soldier of fortune, and an ancestor of the historian Seckendorf, at the head Conduct of the War. August.

[1] It is surprising that Dr. Robertson (iii. 363.) should mention Strasburg as a city which yielded a prompt and weak submission.

[2] Sleid. 376, 378—380.

[3] 70,000 foot, and 15,000 horse.

[4] Thuanus, i. 154.

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of some troops raised by the city of Augsburg, had the prospect of cutting off, at Inspruck, the pope's forces on their way to join the emperor: but he was timidly or injudiciously recalled by the elector and the landgrave.

These were only specimens of the manner in which the whole of the war was misconducted, in great measure in consequence of that divided and coördinate authority vested in two chiefs, and those of such different characters, which has ever been found fatal to military operations. The great object pursued by the emperor was, to decline a battle, and, wearying out the patience of the confederates, to induce them to separate;[1] when his victorious arms over each in succession would be sure. And in this design he eventually succeeded by the aid of Maurice of Saxony.

Invasion of Saxony by Maurice.

When the elector quitted his own country to join the confederates, he committed his dominions to the protection of that prince,—his next neighbour and his near relative, who had received great obligations from him, and professed, in common with himself, a zeal for the protestant faith: and Maurice, who had concealed his engagements to the emperor, with an insidious appearance of friendship, undertook the charge. No sooner, however, had the emperor informally and illegally put the elector and the landgrave to the ban of the empire,[2] than he sent Maurice a copy of his

[1] "They will soon be in difficulties," said he, "for want of two things, money and counsel." Joac. Camerar. in Freher's Germ. Rev. Script. iii. 408.

[2] It was an express article of the capitulation which Charles had ratified before he was admitted to the imperial dignity, that "he should put no one to the ban of the empire, who had not been previously condemned by the diet or the imperial chamber." Coxe, House of Austria, i.

decree, and required him, on pain of incurring similar penalties, to seize, and retain in his hands, the forfeited estates of the elector; and Maurice, with whom it is probable the whole matter had been previously concerted, did not scruple, after some formalities observed to make a decent shew of reluctance, to march into his kinsman's territories, and, with aid received from Ferdinand king of the Romans, to attack and defeat his troops, and to take all things under his own administration. A. D. 1547. November.

This diversion had the desired effect. The elector indignant at such treachery, and afflicted at the accounts which he received of the sufferings endured by his subjects from licentious Hungarian soldiers, accustomed to the merciless modes of warfare practised against the Turks, became impatient to return home; and, in consequence, about the end of the year, the army of the confederates divided, and the greater part returned into their own countries under their respective leaders. The elector indeed succeeded in immediately rescuing his territories from the invaders, and in stripping Maurice for a time of nearly all his own dominions: but the separation of the army was the ruin of the cause. The emperor availed himself to the utmost of the advantage given him, and, with the exception of the elector and the landgrave, almost all the protestant princes and states were compelled to submit, to implore pardon in the most humiliating manner, and to pay heavy fines for the part they had taken. They were not allowed to make any stipulation with regard to Separation of the protestant army. 1547.

453, 4to. Yet he now took upon him to do it by his own proclamation alone. Robertson, iii. 339, 340.

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their religion: indeed the subject was not permitted to be mentioned—in order to keep up the emperor's pretence, that the war, on his part, had no religious object.[1]

On this painful occasion Melancthon writes to Cruciger, February 13, 1547: "At a time when our leaders had one of the most glorious causes that the history of the world presents, and when the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon them, how lamentably have they disgraced themselves! But by these examples God admonishes us to look for heavenly succour. In the confidence of obtaining it, let us bear our calamities with patience."[2]

Defeat and capture of the Elector.

April 24.

Various circumstances for a time restrained the emperor from marching into Saxony, but in the following spring these obstacles were removed, and on the 24th of April he engaged the elector at Muhlberg on the Elbe, defeated and took him prisoner, and, in effect, terminated the war. Wittemberg indeed, then esteemed one of the strongest places in Germany, animated by the exhortations of the electress,—"a woman no less distinguished by her abilities than her virtues,"—still held out, and Charles was not in a condition to make himself master of it. This appears[3] to have suggested to him the barbarous measure, intended to work upon the feelings of the elector's family, of bringing that justly venerated prince to a mock trial, before

[1] Sleid. 412—419, 434, 436. [2] Mel. Ep. iii. 80.

[3] Such is the account adopted by Robertson from Thuanus, and perhaps some other authorities, and it furnishes the most probable explanation of the emperor's outrageous conduct in this particular. No such reason, however, for the proceeding is noticed by Sleidan, (427—429.) F. Paul, &c.—It is implied in Struvius's account. Corpus Hist. Germ. p. 1087, edit. Buder.

a court martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers, with the unrelenting duke of Alva at their head; who, simply on the ground of the emperor's invalid decree, which proclaimed him a rebel and traitor, sentenced him to death. The unexpected personal danger of her beloved consort so subdued the spirit of the electress and her family, that she immediately conjured him, by letters and messengers, to scruple no concession for his own preservation, and the relief of their anguish on his account: and the elector, who had been unmoved by his own danger, was induced by regard to the feelings of his family to agree to terms of accommodation, to which he would not otherwise have listened. He consented to resign absolutely into the emperor's hands the electoral dignity, and to put him in possession of Wittemberg and such other parts of his dominions as were yet unsubdued; and, in return, Charles engaged to spare his life, and to settle on him and his family the city of Gotha,[1] and the small territory attached to it, with an annual pension of fifty thousand florins, to be paid out of the revenues of the electorate. He himself was to remain a perpetual prisoner.

A. D. 1547.

May 10.

Maurice, as the reward of his iniquity, was immediately put in possession of the electoral dominions, and some time after solemnly invested with the electoral dignity—which has ever since continued in the family of his brother, he himself having left no male issue. Thus are the wicked often permitted here to practise and prosper, and the righteous sub-

Advancement of Maurice to the electorate.

[1] To this place the elector's eldest son had escaped, wounded, from the field of battle at Muhlberg. Thuan. i. 141.

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jected to oppression: but we shall see that the good elector, even in bonds, was an object of veneration, and might justly have been considered as an object of envy, in comparison with either his heartless conqueror or his unprincipled relative,—for both of whom chastisement was preparing—and for the former from no other hands than those of the man whom he was thus cherishing and exalting, to the ultimate subversion of all his own designs.

The emperor at Wittemberg.

One thing deserves to be recorded to the emperor's honour on his taking possession of Wittemberg. The Spaniards, with Alva, as it would appear, and Granvelle, bishop of Arras, the emperor's minister, at their head, solicited him to destroy Luther's monument, and to dig up his bones: but Charles replied, "I have nothing more to do with Luther: he is gone to another judge, whose province we must not invade. I wage war, not with the dead, but with those who still bear arms against us."[1]

The Landgrave induced to surrender.

The landgrave alone now remained in arms; and he was shortly after drawn, we might say trepanned, into submission. The emperor required him to surrender upon conditions to be dictated absolutely to him; and he was at length prevailed on, contrary to his own

[1] Juncker, in Jortin's Erasmus, i. 126. 4to. Illesca in his "Historia Pontifical y Catolica" (ii. 628, Madrid 1652,) attests, that "many persons in authority," and among them his confessor P. Soto, urged the emperor at this time "not to be led away by his wonted clemency," but "rigorously to use the advantages of victory, as the most likely way of settling the affairs of religion:" and the historian adds, "I have heard competent persons give it as their opinion, that he would not have had cause to regret it, if he had followed their counsels."

sentiments, to do it, having the guarantee of Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg for his personal liberty. In this, however, they, as well as the landgrave himself, were deceived. After the most abasing submissions in the emperor's presence, which were received with unfeeling and insulting neglect, he was suffered to retire, apparently at liberty, and was entertained by the duke of Alva: but, when after supper he rose to depart, the duke made known the orders he had received to detain him; and no intercessions, no representations whatever, could induce the emperor to release him, till the lapse of five years he was compelled to it by the reverse in his own affairs.

A. D. 1547.

June 19.

From these agitating, these irritating scenes, we turn to what is of a very different character, and much more in accordance with our design—the meekly magnanimous, the sublimely Christian conduct of the late elector, John Frederic, in captivity. All authors agree in bestowing this high praise upon him; but I shall chiefly follow Thuanus, who, being a Roman catholic, (though an eminently fair and candid one,) will be less suspected of partiality than protestant writers might be.

Conduct of the elector in captivity.

"The elector," says this excellent author, "was a great man, and, even by the testimony of his enemies, equal in courtesy, liberality, prudence, and invincible fortitude, to the most distinguished princes. In the judgment of all men, he rose superior to his adverse fortune by the constancy of his mind."[1]

His constancy and composure.

"Though irresolute in council, he was bold in action."[2] Accordingly his conduct at Muhl-

[1] Thuan. i. 142. "He obtained the glory of a liberality truly royal." Ib. 456.

[2] Robertson.

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berg, from the time that an engagement had become unavoidable, is highly commended. When, after discharging the duties of a brave commander, wounded in the face, exhausted with fatigue, and nearly deserted by his followers, he surrendered himself a prisoner, he was conducted immediately to the emperor. On approaching him, the elector took off his glove, and was about to alight from his horse that he might take the hand of the conqueror, as was the custom in such cases: but Charles spurned his approach. "I yield myself your prisoner, most gracious emperor," said John Frederic, "and hope"—the emperor interrupted him: "And am I now your emperor? Charles of Ghent was all you could lately call me." The elector, unmoved, resumed—"I hope to be treated according to my rank." "You shall be treated according to your desert"—was all the reply the emperor vouchsafed him, instantly turning his back upon him.—Ferdinand openly reproached him, using expressions still more ungenerous and insulting. The elector returned no answer, but, with an unaltered countenance, accompanied the soldiers appointed to guard him.[1]

Duke Ernest of Brunswick was made prisoner with the elector, and they were conveyed together in the same chariot, being led as it were in triumph after the emperor in his further progress through Saxony. Such an exhibition of the fallen elector was extremely afflicting to his subjects, who both honoured and loved

[1] Thuanus, i. 141. Robertson, iii. 405-6. Both these authors make the elector speak of "the fortune of war" having rendered him a prisoner. The simpler expression of Sleidan, (427,) which I have used, is more proper, and more consonant to the speaker.

him. Melancthon thus pathetically notices his still accompanying the emperor wherever he went, in the same manner, nearly a year and a half afterwards: "A criminal judge precedes the army of the emperor, who is accompanied by the captives, and among them by our captive prince. O sad spectacle! It often reminds me of the words, *He was numbered with the transgressors.*"[1]—"This indignity, however, was so far from subduing the elector's spirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and composure of his mind."[2] A. D. 1547.

This was strikingly illustrated when they arrived at Torgau, on their way from Muhlberg to Wittemberg. This town was adorned with one of the finest and most beautifully situated castles in Germany, which had been a hunting seat of the electors of Saxony. "Here," said the elector to the Spanish officer who guarded him, "Here is something to gratify Maurice, if his mind is at ease to enjoy it." His companion, Ernest, expressing surprise, and a degree of chagrin, that he should speak in this manner of his own losses, he replied, "Why should I disquiet myself about things of this nature, which even while we retain them can hardly be called our own?" When Ernest answered only by a deep sigh, he turned to him, and said in a lower tone, "I would gladly instil into your mind the same sentiments which I cherish in my own, and which are well suited to calm our passions—to subdue our regrets, and resentments, and desires of revenge. When any one is unable to preserve his external goods against a more powerful assailant, he may still fortify his mind by lessons of wisdom, and thus

[1] Mel. Epist. ii. 524. Compare Sleidan, 472-3.
[2] Robertson.

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rise above his calamities, and even in captivity come off more than conqueror over his victorious foe."[1]

'When the sentence of death, passed upon him by the emperor's iniquitous court martial, was made known to him, he was amusing himself by playing at chess with his fellow-captive. He paused for a moment, and without discovering any symptom of surprise or terror, he observed, "So then, if Wittemberg does not surrender, I must die—for I see what is aimed at. Well, this does not dismay me. I wish it may no more affect my wife, and children, and friends, and that they may not, for the sake of adding a few days to a life already too long, renounce honours and possessions to which they were born." He added, "I do not, however, prohibit their yielding something for the satisfaction of their own feelings: but let them not, in their solicitude for me, forget themselves." "He then turned to his antagonist, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his usual attention and ingenuity; and, having beaten Ernest, expressed all the satisfaction which is usually felt on gaining such victories. After this, he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the rest of his time in such religious exercises as were proper in his situation."[2]

Such self-possession, such more than philosophic calmness, produced by the purest principles of religion, it is delightful and edifying to contemplate. It presents to us a high example, and shews us how much even sincere Christians commonly rest short of what the truths they have received, being

[1] Thuan. ii. 141-2. [2] Ib. 142-3. Rob. iii. 409, 410.

faithfully and fully applied, might enable them to attain. A. D. 1547.

We have next to notice the deposed elector's invincible adherence to his religious principles under all circumstances. His firm adherence to his religious principles.

When the terms were proposed to him on which his life should be spared, and some arrangement made for the benefit of his family, one of the articles prescribed was, that he should approve whatever the emperor, or the council of Trent, should determine in matters of religion. But, while he consented to resign all his earthly dignities and possessions, he peremptorily rejected this article; nor could even the fear of immediate death induce him to listen to it: so that the haughty emperor was obliged to order it to be struck out.[1]

When he had languished a year longer in captivity, and the emperor had introduced, and was enforcing, his scheme of religion, called the Interim, Charles, well knowing the influence which his prisoner's example would have with all the protestant party, laboured with the utmost earnestness to obtain his approbation of this formulary; and, by employing sometimes promises of setting him at liberty, sometimes threats of greater harshness, he attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears: but it was all in vain. "He was daily more and more confirmed," he said, "by the study of the sacred writings, in the truth of the doctrines he had embraced; and nothing could be more criminal in him than to act contrary to this conviction: it would be no less than the sin against the Holy Ghost, which can never be forgiven." He entreated

[1] Thuan. i. 143. Sleid. 428.

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the emperor, therefore, by all the mercies of God in Christ, that he would not urge him to any such violation of his duty, or misinterpret his refusal. He was not actuated, he said, by vain-glory, or by any other worldly consideration—"for what was there of that nature which could outweigh in his estimation (especially considering his age and his habit of body,[1]) the liberty of returning to repose at home in the society of his beloved wife and children?—but he aimed simply at this one object, by the true worship and service of God on earth, to come at length to the enjoyment of his heavenly kingdom. In all things else he had ever been, and ever would be ready to consult the emperor's wishes, and, as became an upright man, and one of his quality, would faithfully observe every engagement he had made to him."—This magnanimous conduct drew upon him fresh marks of the emperor's displeasure. The rigour of his confinement was increased; the number of his servants abridged; the chaplain,[2] who had hitherto attended him, was obliged from regard to his own safety to withdraw in disguise; and even the elector's books of devotion were taken from him.[3]

[1] Extremely corpulent and unwieldy.—Yet Luther, in his commentary on Genesis, (one of his latest works,) extols the laborious diligence ("incomparabilem laboriositatem") of the elector. Seck. iii. 689.

[2] This appears to have been John Aurifaber, the collector of Luther's letters, and of others of his works. Seckend. iii. 642.

[3] Thuan. i. 173. Sleid. 462-3. Robertson, iii. 450-1.—Aurifaber informs us, in how high estimation Luther's writings were held by the elector in his captivity. "My heart," said he, "is deeply affected, my inmost soul penetrated by them. I derive more edification, comfort, strength, from a page of Luther, than from whole volumes of other authors." Seck. iii. 642.

Some time after, the emperor caused the displeasure which he felt at the conduct of the elector's sons, in both rejecting the Interim themselves, and allowing their preachers to impugn it from the pulpit and the press, to be represented to him, and desired that he would interpose his authority with them in these respects. But the elector replied, that he had before stated his own sentiments on the new scheme of doctrine; that they remained unaltered; and that he could not urge his children to do that which he could not with a good conscience do himself. He entreated the emperor, therefore, to view in a favourable light both his own conduct and that of his sons. [1] A. D. 1547.

Another trying scene, which would have been overpowering to a worldly mind, served only to display still further his equanimity and Christian charity. At the diet held at Augsburg in the year 1548, Maurice was to be solemnly invested with the electoral dignity, of which John Frederic had been stripped; and, as if in wanton mockery of the deprived elector's feelings, this was done in the open market place within sight of his lodgings. His attention being drawn by the acclamations of the people, he walked to the window, and, for a short time viewing the spectacle, observed, "With what exultation do the friends of Maurice congratulate his advancement to the dignity of which I am unjustly despoiled! Well, may this change have so peaceful and happy a result, that they may never have to regret the loss of me and my family." And he then returned to the devotional reading in which he chiefly passed his time. [2] Feb. 24.

[1] Thuan. i. 173-4. Sleid. 469. [2] Thuan. i. 176.

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His liberation.

1552. Sept. 1.

After he had been dragged about, in the manner we have seen, during more than five years, such changes took place as no longer left the emperor any motive for detaining him. He accordingly obtained his liberty, and took possession of the small territory which had been reserved to his family, the districts of Jena and Weimar having been added to that of Gotha, in lieu of the pension originally stipulated. [1] His return occasioned great joy to many, who had honoured him in his prosperity, and now still more revered him for his conduct under adversity. Melancthon thus celebrates the event, with affectionate delight, in a letter to a friend. "Though public congratulations will outstrip my letters, I must announce to you, that, through the goodness of God, the duke of Saxony, John Frederic, is with his wife and children in Thuringia. His peaceful return is more glorious than a blood-stained triumph. Posterity will recount this among the proofs that God hears the sighs of the righteous, and relieves their troubles even in this life." [2] Of his conduct, and the esteem in which he was held, after his return, Robertson says, "As in his new situation he continued to display the same virtuous magnanimity for which he had been conspicuous in a more prosperous and splendid state, and which he had retained amidst

[1] Coxe's House of Austria, i. 511. Compare Sleid. 597.

[2] Mel. Epist. ii. 540. See also his preface to the IVth vol. of Luther's Works, Wittemb.—Amsdorf, who had been deprived of the bishopric of Naumburg soon after the commencement of the war, received the elector in his way home at Isenach, and composed a hymn of thanksgiving on the occasion, which was sung responsively by young persons of either sex, selected for the purpose. The elector was affected even to tears, and exclaimed, "Who am I, that God should confer such honour upon me?"—Seckend. iii. 395. (k.)

all his sufferings, he maintained during the remainder of his life that high reputation to which he had so just a title."[1] A. D. 1547.

He survived his return only eighteen months, dying at Weimar March 3, 1554, at the age of fifty-one years, just after he had concluded with Augustus, the brother and successor of Maurice, an arrangement by which the electorate was to revert to his family in case that prince should leave no children. His wife (Sibylla of Cleves) died eleven days before him, having obtained the desire of her heart; for frequently she had been heard to say, that she could die with entire resignation, if she might but see her beloved husband once more return home, in possession of his liberty. When her tomb was preparing, he gave orders that a place should be reserved for him by her side, saying, that he should soon follow her.—"They both," says Sleidan, "died in the true knowledge of God:" and of the elector, in particular, he observes, "Having heard a sermon as he lay on his bed, he implored the divine mercy, and commended his spirit into the hands of God; and thus departed out of this miserable life, to enter into the heavenly state."[2] His death.

Of the sons of John Frederic nothing very

[1] Robertson iv. 100.

[2] Sleid. 596-7. Thuan. i. 455-6.—Melancthon addressed a letter on this solemn occasion to the elector's nephew and namesake, the duke of Pomerania, in which he presses on the young prince the imitation of his deceased uncle's virtues. "He knew," he observes, "that *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* Hence he applied himself to the investigation of divine truth, and manifested the piety of his mind by devout prayer, by constancy in the profession of the faith, and by a watchful care over the churches. In his government, he was just and merciful. His private life was continent, and distinguished by the exercises of piety,—

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memorable is recorded, except that, at their father's suggestion, they became the founders of the university of Jena, intended to supply the loss of that of Wittemberg.[1] The eldest passed nearly thirty years in captivity, and ended his days in that state, in consequence of an ill-advised attempt to retrieve the affairs of his family.[2]

Account of the Landgrave.

It would have been highly gratifying to present any accounts of the landgrave of Hesse similar to those which we have been reading of his old friend and ally: but, alas! his conduct in captivity in most points furnished a contrast to that of the elector. The treachery indeed (for it deserves no better name,) by which he had been deprived of his liberty, and the unfeeling cruelty with which his galling captivity was continued when no conceivable end remained to be answered by it, rouse our indignation even at this distance of time: yet his unabated impatience under his calamity, and the unworthy surrender even of his religious principles which he appears to have voluntarily offered, in order to obtain his liberty, while they excite our deepest regret, cannot escape our marked condemnation. He recovered his liberty about the same time with the elector of Saxony, and was reinstated in his dominions: but his sufferings appear to have broken the vigour and extinguished the activity of his mind. "From being the boldest, as well

1552.

reading, prayer, writing, and consultation with wise and eminent men. His judgment was sound, and his memory retentive; and he had made himself acquainted with all extant history."—Epist. iii. 24.

[1] Chytræi Saxonia, fol. 1599. p. 499. Seckend. iii. 578. (15.)

[2] Seck. iii. 466. (4.)

as the most enterprizing prince in the empire, he became the most timid and cautious, and passed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence."[1] On the whole we cannot but fear, (and we express the sentiment in this connexion with great pain,) that in him, as compared with the good elector of Saxony, we see illustrated the wide difference between the case of religion merely carrying conviction to the understanding, and calling forth the exertions of a mind naturally stirring and active, and one in which it thoroughly takes possession of the heart. In the former the time of trial will discover the essential deficiency: and then very probably even those useful qualities, which seemed most natural and inherent, not being supported by real Christian principle and divine grace, may fail; while the other character, perhaps originally less vigorous, "by waiting on the Lord renews his strength," yea "waxes stronger and stronger."—"The lamp" of the elector we see burning brightly to the last, while that of the landgrave apparently goes out. A. D. 1547.

But we return to the more public transactions of the times. The emperor shewed no moderation in his use of the victory which he had obtained.[2] Even before the battle of Muhlberg he had assumed the style of a conqueror, and Proceedings of the Emperor

[1] Robertson. Sleid. 463. Thuan. i. 174. Sleidan, and after him Thuanus, is willing to doubt the authenticity of the letters in which the landgrave is said to have offered to receive the Interim. Robertson, however, (iii. 452.) relates the fact as undoubted. The landgrave lived till 1567. His wife had died in 1549, "heart-broken with sorrow and care." Sleid. 485—where the translator says, "with sorrow and care for her husband's imprisonment," &c. but the latter words are not in the original.

[2] Thuan. i. 154-5.

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dictated his own terms to the princes and cities which sought to make peace with him. Immediately after the battle, Bohemia, which had shewn a disposition to assert the liberty that by the constitution of its government belonged to it, and even to assist the elector of Saxony, was reduced under the almost absolute despotism of Ferdinand. In receiving the submission of the various states which were now compelled to bow to the emperor's yoke, no mention, as we have seen, was permitted to be made of religion. That whole subject was reserved for the diet which met at Ulm on the fifteenth of June, and, by adjournment, at Augsburg, on the first of September, 1547.[1] In both places the assembly was surrounded by the emperor's victorious troops, prepared to mould its sentiments to conformity with their master's wishes. Immediately on entering Augsburg, Charles took possession of the cathedral and some other churches, and, after they had been duly purified, restored the popish worship in them, so much in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants, that it is said the poorer classes were bribed to attend the service, lest the absence of a congregation should testify the feeling that prevailed.

Diet at Augsburg.

The demand which the emperor first made was, that all should submit to the decisions of the council of Trent. The Roman catholic states were, of course, sufficiently ready to make this engagement; and several of the protestant princes—Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg—from whom better things might have been hoped, were induced to concur in it. Some, however, even in these circumstances were found to hold fast their

[1] Sleid. 428, 431, 437.

integrity: and with the *cities* the emperor was reduced to practise an extraordinary artifice. They drew up a memorial of the conditions on which they were willing to submit to the council, comprising some of the principal stipulations for which the protestants had ever contended. When the paper was presented to him, he affected, without ever looking at it, to consider it as a declaration of unreserved submission, and thanked them for their compliance with his wishes.[1] A. D. 1547.

But on the subject of the council difficulties arose which the emperor had not anticipated. Scarcely had Charles's successes against the protestants commenced, when the pope became sensible of the danger to which he should be exposed, if the emperor became absolute master in Germany. At the earliest period, therefore, that the engagements into which he had entered would allow, he withdrew his quota of troops from the imperial army, and even began to project an alliance with the king of France.[2] No longer daring to trust a council assembled at Trent, where it would be exposed to the emperor's influence, he translated it to Bologna, where he might hope to have it under his own control: but, as this removal must destroy all expectation of the council's being acknowledged by the Germans, it was strenuously opposed by the emperor and other princes; which produced a schism in the council itself, such of the fathers as were under the emperor's influence pertinaciously remaining at Trent, while the Council of Trent interrupted. March 11.

[1] Sleid. 440-1. F. Paul, 258. Robertson, iii. 440.

[2] The emperor was seasonably relieved from danger from this quarter, by the death of his old rival Francis I, March 31, 1547. Henry VIII. of England had died two months before.

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rest departed to Bologna. Much altercation ensued, which issued in an indefinite adjournment of the assembly: nor were any means found of adjusting the difference, and bringing the council again into action, till Julius III.[1] had succeeded Paul III. in the papal chair, and till the season of enforcing its decrees was past.[2]

1551. Sept. 1.

The Interim.

Thus disappointed in his views from this quarter, Charles, for the purpose of establishing peace and uniformity in religion throughout Germany, resolved on a measure which as much astonished the devoted Romanists, as it proved oppressive to the protestants. This was no other than bringing forward to be sanctioned by the diet, and thus enforced in the empire, a scheme of doctrine afterwards known by the name of the *Interim*—from its being proposed to be continued in force only till the decision of a satisfactory general council could be had. The persons whom Charles employed to draw up this formulary were Pflug, bishop of Naumburg, Heldingus, made the year following bishop of Mersburg, and Agricola Islebius; the two former Romanists of some moderation, and the latter little better than an apostate Lutheran.[3] The work was such as might be expected from its authors. "Its contents," says Thuanus, "were agreeable to the hitherto received doctrine of the Roman catholic church, except that it did not

[1] Cardinal di Monte, elected Feb. 8, 1550.

[2] F. Paul, 208, 242, 248, &c.

[3] "Suspected not without reason," says Robertson, "of having been gained by bribes and promises; to betray or mislead his party on this occasion." Rob. iii. 444. "He had liberal rewards for his pains from the emperor and king Ferdinand." Sleid. 468.—Concerning the three compilers of the Interim, the reader may consult the index to the former volume of this work.

utterly condemn the marriage of priests, or entirely reject communion in both kinds."[1] It was drawn up, however, very much upon the plan of the book submitted seven years before to the diet of Ratisbon, and of Gropper's scheme of reformation for Cologne;[2] and consequently was "expressed, for the most part, in the softest words, or in scriptural phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity." A. D. 1547.

Before it was publicly brought forward, the Interim was submitted to the examination of select persons. Bucer, being sent for from Strasburg by the elector of Brandenburg, who now "made it his study to please the emperor,"[3] was pressed both by him and Granvelle, the emperor's chief minister, to subscribe it; and, on his refusing to do so, it was not without danger of his life that he made his escape, and returned home.[4] A copy of the work was also sent to Rome, where a great outcry was made against the emperor's presumption in adventuring to meddle with such subjects, as well as

[1] Thuan. i. 171, 172.

[2] Camerar. Vit. Melanc. Strobel. p. 263. See above vol. i. 262—264, 271, 274—276.—Melancthon however complains that he did not trace the hand of Pflug in the article of justification: *he* would have drawn a better, at least if his own sentiments had not suffered deterioration. Mel. Consil. ii. 5.

[3] Sleid. 461. We trace with pain the declension, if not even defection, of Joachim elector of Brandenburg: and our pain is not alleviated by discovering that there were interested motives which might lead to it. He sought to have his son admitted, under the sanction of the emperor and the pope, to the archbishopric of Magdeburg, to which he had been elected by the chapter. Sleid. 526. F. Paul, 322: Courrayer, i. 552.—How great is the danger arising from "loving this present world!" How great also the folly of so doing! The elector succeeded in the object of his ambition—but his son scarcely survived his full admission to his new dignity!—Chytræi Saxonia, 462.

[4] Sleid. 434, 457. Thuan. i. 171.

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against some things contained in the book. The aged pope, however, more sagacious from long experience in affairs, only wondered that Charles could be so elated by one victory, as to imagine that he could dictate the faith of both parties; predicted, that "what all would impugn and none defend" must soon fall; and in the mean time, with consummate artifice, affecting to believe that Charles, as a secular prince, was not pretending to prescribe articles to the faithful, to which they were to lower down their belief, but only to the heretics those to which they must raise their's in order to be tolerated, he urged an explicit declaration to that effect. With regard to the two points of the marriage of priests and the giving of the cup to the laity, he observed, that it belonged only to himself to grant dispensations to that effect; that, "if the emperor took upon him to allow them as lawful, he would grievously offend Almighty God; but that, holding them unlawful, he might yet permit them to the heretics as the less of two evils."[1]

Its ratification by the diet.

The emperor, having consulted with the ecclesiastical electors, corrected the book as he judged fit, and prefixing a preface by which its application was limited, according to the pope's suggestion, to those who had deviated from the ancient doctrine and usages, and did not choose to return to them, he proposed it in the diet, March 15, 1548; when, either by previous concert with the emperor, or of his own instance, the archbishop of Mentz, the premier elector, rising up, immediately after it had been read, and before any of the members had opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon

[1] F. Paul, 271—274: Courrayer i. 472-3.

it, returned thanks to the emperor, in the name of the diet, for his paternal and provident care for them in the important matter of religion and the peace of the empire. Every one was astonished, but no one ventured to express his surprise; to so servile a state were the princes of Germany reduced; and the emperor, affecting to consider the archbishop's address as the ratification of the diet, closed the business, and enrolled the Interim among the solemn decrees of the empire.[1] A. D. 1548.

With the Interim, which prescribed the doctrines to be received, was connected a form of ecclesiastical reformation, designed to regulate all matters of order and discipline. This gave still higher offence at Rome than the regulation of doctrine, as perhaps wanting the restriction prefixed to the Interim, and directly infringing the fundamental principle, that no secular person is to give law to the clergy in any thing relating to their ecclesiastical character or functions. Among some things of a better kind, the following most objectionable orders were promulged: that the monastic life should be restored where it had been discontinued; that nothing should be taught in schools contrary to the old, or Roman catholic, doctrine; that the Latin tongue should be retained in the services of the church, "*lest they should fall into contempt if the people understood the language;*" and that the canon of the mass, (the Romish prayer of consecration,) with all its mummeries, should be preserved entire, and should be pronounced, as the custom had

Annexed scheme of reformation. June 14.

[1] Sleid. 453-4, 458—460. F. Paul, 274. The Interim may be seen in Goldast's Constitutiones Imperii, i. 518, and a pretty copious abstract of it in Dupin, vii. 83—88.

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been, in a low voice, "that the dignity of those dreadful mysteries might be kept up."[1]

Reception of the Interim.

The Interim met with the fate it deserved, and which might have been expected. "It was rather rejected by all," says F. Paul, "than accepted by any: and that did follow, which doth ordinarily happen to him that would unite contrary opinions—he maketh both parties agree to impugn his sentiments, and each man obstinate in maintaining his own."[2]

The emperor, however, spared no pains to procure, or to enforce, an external compliance with it. Among the protestant princes, we regret to state that Joachim of Brandenburg, and Frederic elector Palatine made no scruple of receiving it.[3] Ulric of Würtemberg, also, whose country was filled with Spanish garrisons, acquiesced in it.[4] Maurice of Saxony, contrary to what is frequently stated, never gave an unconditional assent to the Interim, nor ever established it in his country. He told the emperor that he could not do it, consistently with his express engagements to his subjects; and he pleaded the emperor's own promises relative to religion. Immediately after it had passed the diet he left Augsburg, and called an assembly of his states to communicate to them what had taken place, and to consider how far they could concur in it. After repeated meetings, wherein the question of submission to authority in things indifferent, which subsequently produced very serious controversies, was first moved, a form of religion for his territories was agreed upon at Leipsic.[5]—There were not

Maurice.

[1] Sleid. 463-4. F. Paul, 274-5: Cour. i. 480. Dupin vii. 88.
[2] F. Paul, 277. [3] Sleid. 461. [4] Ib. 462.
[5] Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 84. Melanc. Consil. ii. 5. Sleid. 460, 478, 481. Hanc. ii. 135-6. Du Pin, vii. 89.—Dr.

wanting, however, princes who, though possessed of but very inferior power, made a manly and honourable stand against the emperor's impositions. Among these John marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach,[1] brother to the elector, and Wolfgang duke of Deuxponts, of the Palatine family, are distinguished. The former, partly from resentment at the treatment which Henry of Brunswick, his father-in-law, had met with from the protestants, had joined the emperor in the war. He now pleaded with him his services; the reliance he had placed on his promises concerning religion; the informality of the decree establishing the Interim; and his inability conscientiously to comply with it: and so pertinaciously did he adhere to these points, that the emperor, seeing he was not to be wrought upon, bid him begone from Augsburg, fearing that he would influence

A. D. 1548.

John of Brandenburg.

Robertson has here given currency to a very erroneous statement of Maurice's conduct on the subject of religion. He says, "As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate one moment whether he should establish that form of doctrine and worship in his dominions." And he makes the assembly of the states of Saxony, at Leipsic, to be held for the purpose simply of "laying the Interim before them, together with the reasons which made it necessary to conform to it," and thus "rendering their obedience a voluntary deed of their own." Rob. iv. 14. In the same paragraph he also very injuriously misrepresents the conduct of Melancthon, who, as we shall see, while he concurred in the formulary of Leipsic, would hold no terms with the Interim. Two of Dr. R.'s authorities are Sleidan and Mosheim, neither of whom bears out his representation. Sleidan is above referred to. Mosheim's statement (divested of Dr. Maclaine's note—which will be hereafter considered,) differs not essentially from that above given. He says, "The deliberations" of the states of Saxony "on this occasion were long and tedious, and their result was *ambiguous*." Mos. iii. 373-4.

[1] See vol. i. 261.

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others also. He accordingly departed immediately, and made no alteration of religion within his territories.[1]—The duke of Deuxponts, being frequently pressed upon the subject, frankly told the emperor, "that he had hitherto known no religion but that in which he was brought up; that he had examined it, and was convinced of its accordance with the word of God; that he should wound his conscience, and risk the safety of his soul, if he consented to all parts of the Interim: that the same was the opinion of his divines, and that he could not think of compelling them to go contrary to their consciences." Here too a bold and faithful avowal of principle was crowned with success, and no further engagement appears to have been exacted of the duke, than that he would conform as far as he conscientiously could.[2]—The sons and the subjects of the landgrave of Hesse appear also to have successfully refused the Interim.[3]

Wolfgang of Deuxponts.

Hesse.

But it was in the case of the free cities that the emperor's tyranny was especially exerted. In them the doctrines of the reformation had taken the deepest root. In them also, by the constitution of their government, principles of liberty, obnoxious to one who aspired at absolute monarchy, were most prevalent. Could they have united their counsels and their resources, they might have made their wishes to be respected: but their dispersed situation rendered this impracticable, and Charles determined to put down opposition in each of them separately, before combination could be attempted among them. Hence Augsburg, Ulm; Halle in Suabia, with Stras-

Persecution of the free cities.

[1] Sleid. 460-1. [2] Ib. 461, 480. [3] Ib. 477, 483.

burg, Constance, and other cities, suffered great oppression. In Augsburg, being master of every thing, he abolished the existing form of government; dissolved all the corporations and fraternities; and displaced the magistrates, substituting for them creatures of his own, each of whom was sworn to observe the Interim.[1] He next proceeded to Ulm, and, besides effecting like changes there, carried off in chains Martin Frechtius, and such others of the ministers as refused to comply with his enactments.[2]—These examples produced their effect in procuring the submission of the neighbouring cities; in consequence of which most of the protestant ministers were compelled to quit their stations. Musculus, foreseeing the storm, had shortly before removed from Augsburg to Berne:[3] Snepfius now retired from Tubingen; Osiander from Nuremberg. Suabia, which was occupied in every part by Spanish troops, suffered most severely. "We hear," says Melancthon, "of dreadful devastation in some of the churches. In Suabia and on the Rhine more than four hundred pastors have been expelled, and some of them murdered. Every species of violence is committed. The churches are shut up, and there is no one left even to baptize the children. At Tubingen (in Würtemberg) all the pastors and preachers are driven away, and only one priest left, who, in compliance with the directions of the Interim, has restored the mass. Such is the *golden age*, which Agricola and his coadjutors promised us!" "The city of Ratisbon entreated the emperor that their church

A. D. 1548. August.

[1] Sleid. 469, 470. [2] Ib. 472-3, 479.
[3] Ib. 461: above, i. 216 (2).

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might not be disturbed. He answered by expelling in one day seven ministers of the gospel, and closing the sacred edifices." "For such victories as these the cardinal of Augsburg has erected a trophy, returning thanks to the emperor for the restoration of concord."[1]

The sufferings of the excellent Brentius[2] of Halle, in Suabia, are particularly noticed. At the commencement of the war, his house had been seized and plundered by the Spanish soldiers: and now, he having boldly given his opinion, in answer to the interrogatories proposed to him, against the new form of doctrine, orders were issued by Granvelle, the emperor's minister, for his being sent in chains to Augsburg. He escaped by flight, and by hiding himself in the woods; while his fate was unknown even to his own family. His house was again rifled: and his wife, with six children, was expelled from the city, though she was labouring under severe illness, of which she soon after died: and eventually he was formally banished from the place in which he had exercised his ministry for twenty-six years. For some time he wandered about, not knowing where to find a refuge; but at length he was generously harboured by Ulric of Würtemberg, though that prince was by no means himself free from danger.[3]—Thus, in later ages, as well as in the times referred to by the apostle, have those "of whom the world was not worthy" "wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth —being destitute, afflicted, tormented," while their adversaries "did according to their own will."

[1] Mel. Consil. ii. 73, 87, 88, 93, 96. [2] Vol. i. 177, 525.
[3] Sleid. 461-2. Thuan. i. 173.

A. D. 1548.

Strasburg, which had been under the necessity of submitting to the emperor's authority one month only before the battle of Muhlberg,[1] now distinguished itself by a noble, and not altogether unsuccessful opposition to his dictates on the subject of religion. The senate pleaded against the reception of the Interim, in a manner which ought to have commended itself at once to the understanding and the heart of every reasonable being, that they desired nothing so much as to gratify the emperor, but that to comply in this instance would be to do violence to their consciences, to offend Almighty God, and to endanger their salvation. They entreated him, therefore, that he would not, in a case which concerned not lands and goods, or any earthly matter, but their everlasting well-being, compel them "to say with their mouths what their hearts did not think;" that this was contrary to all the hopes which he himself had held out to them, and to the constant reference, which had been made by all preceding diets, of such questions to a general and free council.

Noble stand made by Strasburg.

How just and striking is the description here given, in few words, of the only object which persecution can ever hope to accomplish—to make men "say with their mouths what their hearts do not think." How infatuated the mind which can pursue so worthless an object at such an immense expence! And how detestably cruel and diabolical to exact this of our fellow-men, in despite of all the arguments and entreaties they can use, when to their own apprehension, at least, their "everlasting welfare" depends upon their refusal, and when no rational being, however strong his own persua-

[1] Sleid. 423.

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sion on the other side, can ever imagine it possible, that their salvation should be promoted by such a constrained and merely external compliance, as he can exact.

Still, however, the heartless trampler on all rights, human and divine, had no other answer to return to this forcible appeal of the senate of Strasburg, than this, "That they must comply or take the consequences." But they were not to be silenced: they persevered in entreaty and expostulation, till at length the emperor told them, that they might settle the affair with their bishop: and with him, after immense difficulty, they did so far succeed as to establish a compromise, by which they ceded three of their churches, and retained the rest, with their own ministers to officiate in them.[1]—It was

1549. Oct.

[1] Sleid. 461, 464—466, 471, 473-4, 478, 480, 485.—Sleidan gives a very amusing account of the renewed celebration of the mass at Strasburg, and the impression produced by it, when the ceremony had not been seen there for more than twenty years. "Great was the concourse of people that flocked to the church, especially of the youth: for to them it was a strange kind of sight, to see a great many men with shaven crowns, in a new sort of habit, singing altogether what nobody understood; tapers and lamps burning at noonday, incense streaming up and smoaking out of censers; the priest, with his subservient ministers, standing before the altar; speaking in a strange language; using various kneelings and gestures; bowing down with hands joined; one while stretching forth his arms, and by and by contracting them again; turning about to the people; raising his voice high at some times, and at others muttering to himself very softly; now casting up his eyes, and then prostrating himself on the ground; shuffling about from place to place, now on the right, and now on the left side of the altar; playing tricks with his fingers; breathing into a chalice; then lifting it on high, and then setting it down again; naming, in certain places, now the dead, and now the living; breaking the wafer and putting it into the chalice; striking his breast with his fist; sighing, shutting his eyes, as if he were asleep, and

in the midst of these struggles at Strasburg that Bucer and Paul Fagius retired from the scene, and accepted the invitation which Cranmer had given them to remove into England.[1] A. D. 1548. 1549. April.

The city of Constance was less fortunate. It had never yet made its peace with the emperor for the part it had taken in the late contest. When therefore its senate pleaded, in the same way with that of Strasburg, against the Interim, he dispatched a body of Spanish troops to surprise the city: but, these having failed in the attempt, he put the place to the ban of the empire, and not only reduced it to receive the Interim, but deprived it of its privileges as a free city, and subjected it henceforward to the house of Austria. Its ministers, at the head of whom was Ambrose Blaurer,[2] were compelled to quit the place.[3] Constance. 1548. Oct.

then waking again; eating one part of the wafer, and swallowing the other whole with the wine, that the least drop may not remain; washing his hands; turning his back to the people, and with an outstretched arm shewing them a gilt paten; clapping it to his forehead and breast; and kissing sometimes the altar, and sometimes a little image inclosed in wood or metal. These and the like performances the young people could not behold without wonder and amazement, nor indeed without laughter." A slight disturbance having accidentally arisen from one of these youths, the whole body of the priests took such alarm, that they interrupted the service, shut themselves up within the iron gates, and could not be pacified by the interposition of the senate and magistrates, demonstrating to them that it was purely accidental, and that no citizen had been concerned in it. They complained to the bishop and the emperor, and could not be prevailed upon to "expose their lives," by repeating the service for some months after. Many were of opinion that they were glad of the pretext for declining services, from which, without any diminution of their incomes, they had for so many years been exempt.—Sleid. 491, 496, 513.

[1] Sleid. 479. [2] Vol. i. 177.

[3] Sleid. 469, 470, 471-2, 474.

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The reflections of Melancthon and his friends, in the midst of these scenes, are such as we might have expected from their piety and wisdom. "The dangers of the church," says that excellent man, in a letter in which he notices the death of his valued friend Cruciger on the first of December 1548, "are such that we evidently cannot be saved by human intervention. Indeed all human protection is withdrawn. Nothing remains for us but a pious confession of the truth by individuals, and earnest prayers to Almighty God."—Again, in an address which he drew up for George of Anhalt, and which that illustrious ecclesiastic recited to the assembled clergy of the diocese of Mersburg, October, 6, 1549, he says: "To the consolations which I have now offered you, permit me to add the following exhortations: As we are harassed with so many afflictions, let us be more humble in all our life and conversation; let us be more diligent in learning and teaching; that all may perceive that we hold the true doctrine unadulterated. Let our prayers also be more fervent to God: and in them let us commend to him, with the unfeigned sighs and groans of our hearts, the church universal—ourselves—our families—our wives and children, since it is an undoubted truth, that the church is preserved and governed, not by mere human counsels, but by the special care of God himself. Thou therefore, O Almighty God, eternal and only Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of heaven and earth, and of mankind, Founder of the whole church of angels and men; together with thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and rose again; and with thy Holy Spirit: do Thou, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, have compassion upon us;

and by thy Holy Spirit evermore gather and preserve among us a church for thyself; and of thine infinite mercy mitigate our punishments! Amen.[1]" A. D. 1548.

The scenes which we have been reviewing are melancholy; and the face of Germany was no doubt, for the present, changed for the worse by the event of the war; yet still the change would be greater in appearance than in reality. The deposition of John Frederic, indeed, and the substitution of such a prince as Maurice in his place, was a serious loss to the cause of true religion: and it is grievous to find in the tergiversation, or the temporizing policy of Joachim of Brandenburg, Frederic elector Palatine, and others, that the best days of religion among persons of that rank in Germany were past. Yet still we may feel assured, that, as previously more religion would appear on the page of history than really existed, so now more would exist than openly appeared. While no great sacrifices were actually to be made, and the temporal privileges of princes were asserted in contending for their religious ones, many were ready to take that side, who failed, or even proved themselves unsound, in the day of trial. We have seen also, in repeated instances, what heavy complaints the pious reformers made of the inconsistent conduct of numbers who professed the protestant faith.[2] No doubt the State of religion in Germany.

[1] Epist. ii. 34. Consil. ii. 96, 103.

[2] Let the insults which Roman catholics never cease to offer to protestants on this ground, be checked by the testimony of one of their own party. The bishop of Alifi, preaching before the council of Trent in its twenty-third session, "spake of the faith and manners of the heretics and catholics, and said, that, 'as the faith of the catholics was better, so *the heretics did exceed them in good life;*' which did give much distaste, especially to those who remembered

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church needed to be sifted and purified. As our own archbishop Cranmer remarked on this very occasion, for the warning of his countrymen: "In Germany, although the gospel had shed its glorious light, yet a large proportion of such as were within reach of its beams had refused to reform their lives according to its direction. Hence, it is said, have these unrepenting converts been delivered over to imperial and papal oppression."[1] Still, however, there were found persons, even in the highest class of society, to stand firm, and make a faithful protest. Whole senates contended for the truth,[2] and numerous pious ministers and others patiently suffered for it: and, even where corrupt doctrines and superstitious rites were publicly enforced, the sentiments of the people remained unaltered: and the work of God, we must ever remember, is carried on in the breasts of individuals, and princes and public officers, considered as part of his church, are no more than other men, except as their influence is more extensive. The rending asunder of the endeared connexion between faithful pastors and their flocks, wherever it took place, was a mournful event: yet thousands, thus deprived of public ordinances in which they could conscientiously join, would worship God, even with increased devoutness, in private. "The Lord knoweth

the saying of our Saviour, and of S. James, that faith is not shewed but by works."—F. Paul, 689-90.

[1] Soames's English Ref. iii. 452.

[2] The period of the Interim has been fixed upon by some respectable commentators as that of "the slaying of the witnesses," Rev. xi. From what has been already stated, and what remains to be stated hereafter, the reader will judge for himself how far the suppression of the testimony to the truth at this time, even within the limits of the empire, was such as to answer the terms of the prophecy.

them that are his," although the histories of the church no longer notice them. Such persons, in these troublous times, would "speak often one to another;" and "a book of remembrance would be written before him" in their favour: and for their sakes, we may conclude, was that happy revolution vouchsafed, (as surprising, and proceeding from as unexpected a quarter, as any one on record,) which we shall have to relate in the next chapter. "The rod of the wicked shall not *rest* on the lot of the righteous," so as to cause them to be "tempted above that they are able;" but "with every temptation a way to escape" shall be provided for them, "that they may be able to bear it." A. D. 1548.

Progress of the emperor into the Netherlands.

After settling in this manner the affairs of Germany, the emperor proceeded, in the autumn of the year 1548, to visit his hereditary dominions in the Netherlands, to receive his son Philip from Spain, and to introduce the young prince to the homage of his future subjects. Here he was labouring, though happily his efforts were defeated, to establish the inquisition:[1] and, on quitting the country in the following spring, he left behind him a most detestable persecuting edict, which was immediately published in both the Flemish and the French language. It complained, that, to the great grief of the emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary, many both of his own subjects, and of the foreigners who lived and traded among them, spread the contagion of heresy far and wide; so that severe measures for its extirpation were become necessary. It therefore strictly ordained, that no persons, of what rank soever,

1549, May.

Persecuting edict

[1] Coxe's House of Austria, i. 516. 4to.

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should purchase or distribute any of the writings of Luther, Œcolampadius, Zuingle, Bucer, or Calvin, or, in general, any of the books prohibited in the Index of the divines of Louvain: that no conventicles should be held in private houses: that no persons should dispute about the holy scriptures, nor any except authorized divines presume to interpret them: that offenders against these rules should be punished, *men by the sword, and women by being buried alive*, if they forsook their errors, but, if not, that they should be *burned*; and that, in either case, their goods should be confiscated:[1] that such as, not out of malice and obstinacy, but through infirmity, had fallen into heresy, and had voluntarily returned and abjured their errors, should not for the time to come adventure to hold any discourse on matters of faith and religion, on pain of being punished as relapsed heretics: that none should receive into his house, or otherwise succour, persons suspected of heresy: that no one removing, without having a certificate from the curate of his parish, should be allowed any habitation—as he must be regarded as a suspected person; and that all such as had fled upon being cited to appear and answer for heresy, should be held convicted and condemned, and not allowed subsequently to clear themselves: that any person, knowing the lurking-place of any heretic, should instantly discover it to the inquisitor,[2] or the governor

1 "Qui secus fecerint, punientur ut seditiosi et publicæ tranquillitatis perturbatores: ac viri quidem gladio ferientur, fœminæ autem in terram defodientur, si quidem ab errore desistent: si vero pertinaces erunt, exurentur; publicatis ipsorum bonis, utrumcunque luant supplicium." Sleid. lib. xxii.

2 Many places were favoured with the services of indi-

of the district; in which case, on conviction of the offender, the informer should be intitled to half his goods; but, on failure of giving information, the person himself should incur the penalties of heresy."[1] A. D. 1548.

Such a demon is man capable of becoming, when possessed of absolute power, his conscience blinded and his heart hardened by a false religion, and his zeal urged forward by impious assumptions like those of popery.—Happily it was found that the edict, if carried into effect, would prove ruinous to the interests of a trading country: and on this ground chiefly, or even solely, it was "for that time superseded" by Mary of Austria, the emperor's sister, who governed the country in his name, and afterwards, on her representation, somewhat moderated by Charles himself.[2]

Progress of the Reformation.

This atrocious edict, however, bears strong testimony to the increased diffusion of the reformed doctrine. We have also about the same time evidence of its progress in other quarters. In 1546, William Brissonet, who had been bishop of Meaux, having disseminated the doctrines of the reformation among the people, fourteen persons were burned for heresy in that city, and many others whipped and banished.[3] Two years afterwards, Thuanus informs us, strong edicts were again issued in France against Lutheranism, and John Brugiere of Auvergne was burned for professing it,

vidual, and perhaps itinerant, inquisitors, where "the holy office" was not itself established. M'Crie's Ref. in Italy, 200-1.

[1] Sleid. 496—498. Father Paul (387,) states, that in the Low Countries, "from the first edict of Charles V." to the peace of 1558, "there were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, and burned, to the number of 50,000."

[2] Sleid. 496, 501. [3] Ib. 411.

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by order of the parliament of Paris: the reason of which severities, the historian says, was, that the number of those who embraced Luther's doctrines was "wonderfully increased."—And this was the case not in France only, but also in Italy, which caused the senate of Venice at this time to renew the decrees which it had made on the subject twenty years before.[1] The year following also, on occasion of the solemn entry of Henry II. into Paris, after the coronation of his queen, some persons were burned for heresy, in the presence, it is said, of the king himself; who felt called upon to publish edicts expressive of his determination "to root out heresy from his dominions."[2] But the details of what passed in France will belong to a subsequent part of this history, should it be permitted to be continued.—In addition to these brief notices, it will not be forgotten, that this very period of the threatened suppression of protestantism in Germany was that of its triumph, under Edward VI, in England.

1549.

Account of Melancthon.

But the reader will naturally desire to learn, what, amid these changing and turbulent scenes, were the conduct and fate of Melancthon—the most interesting character, after Luther was removed, that Germany could boast. And to afford full information upon this subject has been purposely reserved for the closing part of the present chapter.

[1] Thuan. i. 181-2. Sleid. 468. It was at this period that Vergerio quitted Italy. Vol. i. 456.—Since the publication of the former volume of this work, in which some notices of Italy were inserted, the subject of the extended progress of the reformation in that country, and its final suppression by the merciless hands of the inquisition, (which "alone saved popery," even in its head quarters,) has received important illustration from the pen of Dr. M'Crie, to whose highly interesting volume I gladly refer my readers. [2] Sleid. 484.

What were his feelings at the commencement of the war has been already shewn from his private correspondence. He did not altogether acquit his friends from blame in bringing matters to the decision of the sword. He complained that the emperor was irritated by galling and offensive writings, from different members of the protestant body, and that political affairs were improperly mixed up with the question of religion. Under existing circumstances perhaps this could hardly have been altogether avoided, even if all persons concerned had been as seriously and simply religious as the elector of Saxony: and that this was not the case is but too evident. At the same time, the temper of Melancthon might have inclined him to yield more than was safe, for the sake of preserving peace. He would not only have consented to liberate and restore Henry of Brunswick, but would have given up the Smalkaldic league itself, and yielded much to the jurisdiction of the popish bishops: and by such means he thought (how justly it is now unimportant to inquire,) the emperor might have been appeased, and induced still to grant the protestants reasonable, or at least tolerable terms respecting religion. He knew, however, that such proposals would not be listened to, and therefore he forbore publicly to urge them upon attention.[1]

A. D. 1548.

His sentiments on the war.

When the war was carried into Saxony by Maurice's invasion of that country, in the autumn of 1546, the university of Wittemberg was dispersed, and Melancthon, in common with many other learned and pious men, was

His removal from Wittenberg. Nov.

[1] Camerar. in Vit. Mel. § 71, with Strobel's notes. Also a brief history of the Smalkaldic war written in Greek by Camerarius, in Freher's Germ. Rer. Scriptores, vol. iii.

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driven out to seek a retreat where he might be able to find one.[1] Zerbst, in the principality of Anhalt, was the place at which he chiefly passed his time, under the anxious protection of the princes of that house: but, as soon as the war was terminated, he embraced the earliest opportunity of returning to Wittemberg;[2] and preferred continuing there to either accepting the offers made him by Maurice of an advantageous settlement in the university of Leipsic, or joining the new establishment of the sons of John Frederic at Jena. Maurice sent for him, Bugenhagius, and Cruciger, treated them with kindness, and committed to them the administration of the affairs both of the church and the university; assigned them salaries; and desired them to proceed as they had been accustomed to do.[3]

His return.

Melancthon was censured by some of his old friends, (not all of them very temperate persons,)[4] for settling under the dominion of the man who had subverted the late electoral house, instead of attaching himself inseparably to the old family. But the censure does not appear to have been reasonable. Wittemberg had been the scene of his studies, his labours, and his connexions from early life: a partiality for it was therefore natural and laudable. He considered it as the focus from which light had been, and from which he trusted it would continue to be, diffused over that part of Germany;

[1] Epist. ii. 433, he observes that he lost a great part of his books and furniture.—At that time, says Camerarius, "I was, like many others, a fugitive, wandering to and fro, without my family."

[2] He resumed his academical employments by commencing a course of lectures on S. Paul's epistle to the Colossians, October 24, 1547. Melch. Adam, i. 165.

[3] Sleid. 435.

[4] Amsdorf, &c.

and believed that, if that university were permitted to fall, it would be a great public loss. He laboured therefore most anxiously to restore its prosperity.—The sons of John Frederic also fell much short of their revered father's character; and Melancthon distrusted the prudence, as well as the success, of the attempt made to establish a new academy under their auspices, at that particular juncture. As to settling under Maurice's government, when all had been now definitively arranged, and the assent of John Frederic himself given to the arrangement, it would have been idle to object to it: and would it not have been worse than idle to refuse to occupy the field, which, as we have seen, was opened to Melancthon and his confidential friends by Maurice himself? "I have come hither," Melancthon writes, "not to join the party of our enemies, but to succour a mourning church."[1] A. D. 1548.

His transactions with Maurice.

In every thing that concerned religion Melancthon was consulted by Maurice. In the year 1548, that prince held no less than eight conventions of his states on the subject, and three in the year following;[2] at all of which, except the first, Melancthon was present, and drew up most of the papers which were adopted or considered in them.—It has been already intimated, that he incurred much censure for the concessions here made; and, from the manner in which his conduct is generally spoken of, it would be inferred, that he had been induced actually to countenance the Interim.[3]

[1] Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 72, 73, 75, 76. Strobel.

[2] Enumerated, ibid. Append. xvii.

[3] See Robertson, iv. 14, 15. The reference to this passage is thus made in Robertson's Index, under the name *Melancthon*—"Is prevailed on to favour the Interim!"

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His opposition to the Interim.

But so far was this from being the case, that I should rather affirm that his opposition to that formulary was even heroic, both when it was previously submitted to his examination, and after it was adopted and published by authority. To this his "Consilia," which exhibit the papers relative to it, written by him, in conjunction with his colleagues, bear ample testimony. These papers are numerous in the Latin Consilia, and reference is made to a German collection as adding to their number. Some are private, for his own use; some, letters to friends, or to learned and religious bodies; some, formal memorials to Maurice and his ministers, and other persons in authority; some are in his own name alone, and some are signed jointly by him and one or more of his friends and coadjutors, Bugenhagius, Cruciger, Major, Pfeffinger, and Froschelius; some are brief, while others follow the Interim from article to article, passing the just censure upon each. They profess, indeed, to be confined to points of importance, and not to obtrude nice and doubtful discussions upon the attention of the princes. A spirit of combined firmness and moderation pervades them. They avow a readiness, on the part of those whose signatures they bear, to concur in any thing tolerable, where ritual matters alone were concerned, and advise the elector not to make a stand on some things which it might yet have been wished had been otherwise: but on all the great points at issue—on justification, on the invocation of saints, on the necessity of the particular confession of sins to man in order to the pardon of them by God, on the sacrifice of the mass, private masses, and masses for the dead—on all these and other topics they declare that the writers can never acquiesce in

what the book prescribes, and that they will suffer banishment, imprisonment, or death, rather than ever consent to do it.[1] From the first, Melancthon denounced the idea of establishing such a formulary by law, as "an infatuated project," which would multiply, instead of healing divisions, nay, would fill the country with insurrections and tumults: the very stones, he said, would cry out against it; it would disgrace the German churches in the eyes of all the world; and could never be supported but by manifest tyranny, and unrelenting persecution. He implores Almighty God, therefore, that such pernicious counsels might never be adopted.[2] In short, his opposition to it was so loud and vehement that the emperor, regarding him as the most formidable individual adversary that he had to encounter, ordered him to be seized, and delivered up to him, as "an enemy of the public peace."[3] He was screened however by Maurice, who appears to have secreted him for some time in a monastery at Cell on the Muldaw,[4] as the elector Frederic had done Luther in the castle of Wartburg. But, as far as his own private dangers were concerned, Melancthon was unmoved amid the storm. "If I am called upon to answer," he writes to Camerarius, "though I find that the emperor is enraged against me, I shall simply say, that I cannot assent to such delusions. And I *will* not assent to them....I will do to the end as I have hitherto done; wherever I go I will express the same sentiments; I will aim to carry about with me a heart lifted up to God; and

A. D. 1548.

[1] Consilia. ii. 1—100. [2] Ib. 5, 11, 15, 27, &c.

[3] Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 78, 79, cum annotat.

[4] Ib. not. § 79. From this place some of his papers on the Interim were written.

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I will yet retain my wonted moderation, and avoid exciting seditions."[1]

The closing sentence of this quotation will be better understood, when it has been seen how he was assailed by men of his own party, for whom he did not go far enough, as well as by those of the opposite party, for whom he went much too far. But hitherto, assuredly, we trace little of that "weakness and timidity" which he is said to have manifested, chiefly perhaps because it is thought that he *must* have done it, when deprived of the support of Luther. Rather, so far as we have yet gone, we have reason to say that the mantle of Elijah has fallen upon Elisha, and to adore that grace of God which made Melancthon's "strength" proportioned to his exigencies, and raised a man of his temperament to this tone of determined vigour.

Extent of his concessions.

But the point on which Melancthon especially gave dissatisfaction and offence to many of his brethren (who afterwards affected the name of *genuine* Lutherans,) was, his maintaining, that in things purely indifferent it was lawful, even in matters of religion, to submit to the commands of an earthly superior. The difficulties attending this position, and the abuse to which it may be liable, from the latitude with which the term indifferent may be interpreted, are obvious: they gave rise at this time to a fierce controversy in Germany, characterised by the appellation *adidphoristic*,[2] which bordered closely on one afterwards carried on in England, and which may thus claim our attention at a future stage of our progress. The spirit manifested by Melancthon's opponents will now be

Adiaphoristic controversy.

[1] Melch. Ad. in Vit. Mel. i. 165.

[2] Indifferential.

universally condemned. "Rather than yield submission," exclaimed Flacius of Magdeburg, the principal leader of them, "we ought to see the churches desolated, and to terrify our rulers with the dread of insurrections."[1] With a great proportion of my readers the question of interest will relate, rather to the extent to which Melancthon carried his concessions under the name of conformity in things indifferent, than to the principle itself which he thus admitted. And here it is not to be denied that he has been generally censured. Calvin, with whom he kept up a friendly correspondence to the end of his life, tells him, that he understood he had "sanctioned some gross corruptions, which tended to weaken and deform the church;"[2] A. D. 1548.

[1] Melch. Ad. 1. 165.—Matteo Flacio *Illyricus*, or the *Sclavonian*, quitted his native country for the sake of religion, and settled in Germany. He was the principal compiler of the valuable ecclesiastical history intitled *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and the author of other esteemed works. He was a man of learning and talents, but intemperate and violent. Melch. Ad. Vit. Flacii, i. 225. M'Crie's Italy, 94.

[2] It is striking, however, to observe the moderation of Calvin on this subject. "It is lamentable to think how the enemies of Christ exult at your controversies with the divines of Magdeburg... Excuse me if I cannot altogether release you from blame—whence you may judge what heavy accusations others bring against you. If you have shewn yourself too ready to yield, you must not wonder that you are blamed for it: besides which, some of the things which you call indifferent are manifestly at variance with the word of God. Some persons are perhaps too precise and scrupulous, and, as commonly happens when controversy takes place, inveigh against things in which there is no great evil. But, if I have any understanding in divine things, you ought not to have granted so much to the papists; for in so doing you have loosed some of those things which God binds in his word. I do not understand your saying that at Magdeburg they raise contentions only about a surplice: for the use of surplices, and other follies are retained wit

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and the current representation of modern writers may be given in the words of Dr. Robertson: "Many of the protestant ecclesiastics, whom Maurice consulted, proceeded to class among the number of things indifferent, several doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as gross and pernicious errors in the Romish creed; and placing in the same rank many of those rites which distinguished the reformed from the popish worship, they exhorted their people to comply with the emperor's injunctions concerning these particulars."[1] How far Melancthon and his friends, the persons especially consulted by Maurice, are justly exposed to these charges, or how far they have suffered from the representations of intemperate opponents, the reader will be enabled in some degree to judge, from the extracts which it is proposed to lay before him from the writings of this period; in giving which, however, it is not my intention merely to illustrate this point, but to exhibit the doctrines maintained, and the spirit displayed, by these confessedly moderate reformers, after the impetuous and intemperate Luther (as some have esteemed him,) was removed from among them.

Doctrines of Melancthon and his friends.

The earlier articles of the Interim, "on the creation and fall of man, original sin, and recovery by Christ," Melancthon and his friends remark, might be allowed to pass without

them as well as with you. But *good and pious men every where complain* that you have sanctioned gross corruptions &c." Calv. Melancthoni, in Weismann's Hist. Sacræ, i. p. 1534. Hal. Magd. 1745.—It is observable, from the last sentence, that the writer spoke much from the reports which he had received from others.

[1] Robertson, iv. 15.

particular censure;[1] but that concerning justification, they affirmed, subverted the very foundations of true doctrine. It taught, "that faith is only our preparation for justification; that love follows, and by it a man is (made) righteous," or justified. "This," say they, "is all one with making us righteous for the sake of our own works and virtues: and thus the light of the true doctrine, that a man is accounted righteous, and accepted of God, only for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith, is extinguished, and the darkness and errors of past ages are introduced again." "St. Paul's words, *We are justified by faith*, are here made to mean, By faith we are prepared to receive somewhat else whereby we are justified. Thus is a man led away from Christ, to reliance on himself, and deprived of the consolation provided for him in the Son of God."[2]

A. D. 1548.

Justification.

They readily admit, that penitence, love, and other graces must coëxist with faith, and obedience follow in the justified man, yet not these things but his faith in Christ, or reliance on him alone, justifies him. "It is no strife of words, therefore," they contend, "to say, that by faith *only* we are justified. Other virtues must be in us, but we place not our confidence in them, (for they are all weak and imperfect,) but only in the Son of God."[3]

The necessity for this doctrine is feelingly and beautifully traced out. "This is the immutable truth of the gospel, plain and easy to be understood, and necessary to be kept constantly in view in all our attempts to approach unto God. When you pray, it will not prove sufficient for you to look into

[1] Consil. ii. 30, 38. [2] Ib. 9, 10, 17, 18, 26, 30, 38, &c.
[3] Ib. 31, 32, 33, 39, &c.

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yourself, and require the existence of love and other virtues, (though they must exist there;) but besides these feeble and imperfect graces, we must possess this true consolation, namely an affiance in the Mediator, and a belief that God is assuredly ready to accept us, and to hear our cries and groans, and not to reject us. And this confidence must be rested on the Son of God, and not on our own holiness and Christian graces.—All our virtues in this life are weak and imperfect, and much evil and corruption remain in our hearts. We must needs therefore fly to the Mediator, lay hold on him, and seek grace and mercy through him.—We are filled with horror at the view of the greatness of our own sins and miseries, and therefore are compelled, when we would find peace of mind, to fly to the one only Propitiator, whom God in infinite mercy and wisdom hath proposed to us, and then, as the apostle testifies, *being justified by faith we have peace with God.*" [1]

And this doctrine, they affirm, "had not at any time been wholly lost; though the devil, from the very time of Adam's fall and recovery, had never relaxed his efforts to suppress it. Even when most obscured, it was yet to be traced in the experience, the spiritual exercises, of all pious humble minds. [2] In the protestant churches it was now so thoroughly known and received, that the errors of the Interim would be readily detected, and scarcely an individual would be found to listen to that work.[3]".

The rejection of the true doctrine by those who compiled the Interim is traced, in great

[1] Consil. ii. 33, 39, 40, &c. [2] Ib. 36, 40, 52. [3] Ib. 39, 41.

measure, to their erroneous views of the nature of faith. They understood by it nothing more than a mere historical assent. Hence they maintained that faith might exist without love, and in persons who were living in sin; and "that this is still no less faith, if only it acknowledge right doctrine." [1] And hence again, in manifest contradiction to the scriptures, they scarcely reckoned faith among the graces of the Spirit at all.[2] A. D. 1548.

Of many of the popish practices, and particularly of the invocation of saints, they speak as "gross and horrible idolatry." "It is certain that the invocation of saints, and flying to images, is one of the greatest abuses and idolatries of these later ages. This heathenish custom, it is true, soon crept into the church—an argument of the weakness of human nature, and of the facility with which man is withdrawn from the true worship of God."—The proof that the invocation of saints is idolatrous is thus concisely stated. "Prayer to an invisible and absent being attributes to that being the power of knowing the heart—a power exclusively divine. Therefore prayers to saints are idolatrous."[3] Invocation of saints.

The passages which speak the determination of the writer and his friends to adhere to the truth, and to reject so insidious a work as the Interim, by whatever power imposed, are numerous and striking. "To renounce the truth of the gospel, after having clearly known it, and to join ourselves with those who persecute it, would amount to the unpardonable sin: in which may God mercifully prevent our ever involving ourselves! And, though wars Resolution of Melancthon and his friends.

[1] Precisely Bp. Bull's principle.
[2] Consil. ii. 26, 31, 32, 33, 38. [3] Ib. 22, 29, 42, 49, 107.

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and desolation be threatened in case we refuse, we ought to make more account of the commandment of God than of all such evils." "As no creature either in heaven or earth can change the wondrous counsel of God revealed in the gospel, so, by his help, we will still set forth the same doctrine concerning faith and good works, which we have taught in these churches for many years past: for it is most clearly revealed in the holy scriptures, divinely vouchsafed unto us." "Our sentiments being asked, we cannot but deliver them unequivocally, though we would do it with the meekness and moderation which become Christians: and, for the dangers which we may incur by so doing, we will commend ourselves to the almighty and eternal God, the Father of our Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ."—Writing singly, Melancthon says, "Never will I burden my conscience by sanctioning this book." "I will by no means give my assent to it, though I know there are those who thirst for my blood. But I support myself with the hope of divine protection, and the comfort of a good conscience."[1]

To the churches of Berlin and the neighbourhood, Melancthon and Bugenhagius write: "You ask, supposing the Interim should be proposed to you, what you should answer? The language of truth is simple: answer, that you will faithfully observe the scheme of doctrine formerly promulgated by your elector, and cannot consent to change it. If *he* thinks he can interpret the new book in conformity with it, and chooses to make that representation to the emperor, say, that you presume not to

1 Consil. ii. 36, 41, 54, 55, 95.

dictate to him upon the subject, but that you must yourselves preserve the old formularies." [1] A. D. 1548.

Their detachment from worldly views.

We find also, in the wishes and proposals of Melancthon and his friends at this time, much of that detachment from worldly and political views, which characterized the early days of the reformation. They were willing that the protestant princes should act according to their own judgment of things, and leave their divines to follow their consciences, and to take the consequences. Thus they jointly write to Maurice: "The government will consider, and determine for itself, what it can and ought to do for the protection of the churches. For ourselves, as individuals, we are prepared, God being our helper, for exile or whatever other punishment may follow." And thus to the divines of Strasburg: "To all who have asked advice of us, we have written uniformly, that we would recommend the pastors of the churches to keep their deliberations quite detached from those of the political governors, and to answer plainly and distinctly, that they will not change their doctrine, or receive the new formulary—it being our part, as divines, to detect and guard against every corruption of doctrine. But let the civil rulers, of whom many are ignorant of Christian truth, and others dislike it, return the emperor such answers as they think proper. Thus the pastors deliver their own consciences, less change is made in the churches, we avoid every thing that can be deemed seditious or violent, and we retain our confession of faith.—The most upright ministers of the gospel incur unknown odium, when once they attempt to exercise

[1] Consil. ii. 86. or Epist. i. 80.

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political power. It belongs not to our ministry." —To the same purport Melancthon wrote to Snepfius of Tubingen, and to Matthias Luther syndic of Nordhausen: and thus to another friend, in the year 1549: "Many exclaim that peace is to be preferred before our doubtful disputations. But, where it is evident that some doctrines are corrupted and others obscured, I will never burden my conscience by concurrence. Let others arrange the affairs of kingdoms, and of the church, as they will, or as they can, (Christ says, *My kingdom is not of this world,*) I will still speak my sentiments, though with moderation, wherever I may be.—If you may be allowed, without expressly approving the Interim, to preach the gospel as you have hitherto done, and are not required to change the administration of the Lord's supper, then your conscience is not burdened, though your rulers may sanction the book."[1]

Is it any thing less than *shocking*, to find men, who were speaking, writing, acting in this manner, assailed by professed brethren, as betrayers of the truth, "vipers in the bosom of the church," and, in certain respects at least, "worse than papists?"

A private paper.

We will close this account of the opposition made by Melancthon and his friends to the Interim, with the heads of a private memorandum which he had drawn up for his own use. Here he thus recounts the reasons urged for compliance with the imperial edict.

"1. That it is becoming to promote agreement, where the main points are granted us.

"2. That it is a duty to seek the extension

[1] Consil. 53, 58, 73, 93, 95.

of the gospel to other nations, which will be promoted by this conciliation. A. D. 1548.

"3. That we ought not to contend for trifles.

"4. That the apostles conceded some things to the Jews. That the emperor wishes to serve the church, &c."

In opposition to these he states the heads of arguments against compliance.

"He that does not confess me shall not be confessed by me.

"If any one teach another gospel, let him be anathema.

"Flee from idolatry.

"Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers.

"What fellowship is there between God and Satan?

"If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.

"To oppose known truth is blasphemy.

"We shall have to concur in the severities that will be used to enforce these articles. For example, if any pastor will not pray to saints, or approve masses for the dead, or carry about the consecrated wafer, he must be expelled.

"Be not partaker of other men's sins."

And, in direct answer to the four reasons for compliance stated above, he remarks on them successively as follows.

"1. 'It is becoming to promote concord'—if it be done without injury to truth, and without bringing confusion into our churches.

"2. 'It is a duty to seek the extension of the gospel'—but it must be of *the gospel*, not of error.

"3. 'The apostles yielded some things'—and therefore we must yield many things.

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But it is written, *Flee from idolatry*—and from unjust persecution.

" 4. The emperor's professions are specious: but the aim is, to establish popery, and the worship of bread."[1]

Here we gain access into Melancthon's study, and are permitted to trace his most secret thoughts. Thus do we see him fortifying his mind against sophistry by the plain dictates of scripture, and preparing himself " to answer every man," at this trying crisis.

Melancthon's concessions.

We will now offer some illustration of that " moderation " of Melancthon, which exposed him to censure, and of the manner in which he limited his concessions concerning things " indifferent."

We have seen that he allowed the opening articles of the Interim, on the fall of man, original sin, and our recovery by Christ, to pass without reprehension. These subjects were indeed treated but slightly; but the fault was that of defect rather than of positive error.

Episcopal jurisdiction.

On the subject of episcopal jurisdiction, he seems to have been disposed, *on principle*, to admit more than many thought could be granted consistently with the safety of the reformation:[2] for he ever entertained serious apprehensions from that relaxation, or dissolution, of authority in the protestant churches, which perhaps proved one means of preparing the way for that departure from the Christian verity, which has since prevailed to so fearful an extent in Germany.[3] Yet his concessions were always accompanied with the stipulation, that the bishops should

[1] Consil. ii. 35. [2] Vol. i. 56, 94.

[3] Rose's Sermons on the State of the protestant Churches on the Continent. 1826.

tolerate the protestants, and grant ordination to their ministers.—His willingness to acknowledge a certain supremacy in the pope, under the like limitation, will now be considered by all protestants as erroneous and dangerous in the extreme. The idea of an universal sovereign on earth over the whole church was a chimera, without the shadow of foundation in scripture, incompatible with the well-being of society in the various independent states of the world, and the parent of one of the direst tyrannies that ever cursed the earth. Melancthon and his friends felt, indeed, that many objectionable things were introduced into the Interim on the subject of the church and the power of the bishops, but, "as the language was general, and admitted of different interpretations," they would not advise the elector to make a stand at this point.[1] They spoke to the same effect concerning "confirmation and unction," though they expressed great offence at seeing these rites advanced to the rank of sacraments, and they protested decidedly against concurring in such modes of administering them as they style "magical consecrations."[2] A. D. 1548.

Things Indifferent.

Addressing Maurice at Augsburg before the Interim had passed the diet, they say: "Though it may already sufficiently appear what we admit, and what we are constrained utterly to condemn in this book, yet, that all may perceive how anxious we are for peace and agreement, we will briefly recapitulate the substance of our statements. The blessed doctrine of faith we neither may nor can change, nor will we sanction false worship in the churches. We agree to observe the ceremonies ordained pro tempore

[1] Consil. ii. 7, 19, 41, 57. [2] Ib. 43, 44.

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—the lessons, the Hymns, the use of vestments and other ancient and becoming rites; as also the holidays, (or festivals,) and the regulations subservient to discipline and useful exercises." They lay it down, however, that nothing, which could be considered as "a species of worship," was ever to be introduced without the express sanction of the word of God: and on this ground they reject the various popish services which we have before seen them condemning.—Again, in their copious memorial to the same prince after the publication of the Interim: "In our churches the principal ceremonies conducive to good order are retained, as the observation of the sabbath and the customary festivals, the regular course of lessons and psalmody,[1] slightly varied. These becoming observances we will use our endeavours to perpetuate: and, if in things of *this* kind, of an *indifferent* nature, on the suggestion and grave deliberation of those to whom the government of the churches is committed, other observances should be proposed and appointed, which may conduce to a similarity of rites, and good discipline, we will readily concur in them; for we have no wish to contend on such points; *but at the same time we must guard, with the most anxious circumspection, against the distinction being lost, as it was in the preceding ages, between these unessential and indifferent things, (as they are styled,) and those which constitute the true worship of Almighty God.*"[2]

In other papers Melancthon endeavours to justify the course which he and his friends had adopted. It was urged against them, that,

[1] Lectiones, cantiones, &c.
[2] Consil. ii. 25, 48, 49, 51, 52, 74.

A. D. 1548.

when changes were once admitted, it was impossible to say how far they would be carried; and that "it was scandalous to encourage their enemies by such an appearance of yielding." He replies, that they had "sufficiently defined the things in which they could concede; and that submission in such things, made for the sake of retaining the essential truth of the gospel, was more becoming than proudly to throw up their situations, to desert the churches, and to give occasion to the people to say, that by obstinacy in trifles their ministers had exposed them to the horrors of a military occupation of their country." "Which of the two," he asks, "acts the most Christian part, the hard unyielding man, who, that he may gain the praise of constancy, deserts the church in her exigency, rather than change his garment, or he who, in order that the church may be undisturbed and her devotions uninterrupted, submits to things, not indeed agreeable to his wishes, but yet not contrary to piety?—These hardy and vehement spirits," he observes, "often neglect or obstruct more essential duties, while they raise disturbances about trifles."—It was further objected, that such a submission was a surrender of Christian liberty. He answers that Christian liberty relates to far higher things: and laments that men set a value on the unrestrained gratification of their own wills, which savoured little of Christian humility. "The kingdom of God," he says, "consists in true faith, prayer, hope, love, patience, purity, righteousness; and without these inward graces, external liberty in meats, and vestments, and other things of that kind, is not Christian liberty, but a new kind of civil polity, only more agreeable to the people, because it lays them under

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fewer restraints. We ought the more meekly to bear a degree of servitude, provided it involve nothing contrary to piety, because we have certainly abused the plea of liberty."—Some applied to the question S. Paul's words, "If I build again that which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." But S. Paul, he observes, "was unquestionably right in all that he had done as an apostle: we, with all our infirmities, and amid the difficulties of the new situation in which we were placed, might not always be right. Hence the practice varies in different places; and pious rulers and pastors have desired to see greater uniformity, and have regretted the abolition of useful observances." "Let us," he says, "confess that we are men, and that we may have said and done some things without sufficient circumspection. And, if there are instances of this kind, let us not be unwilling to correct our errors: and, as discord has already deeply injured us, let us put a charitable construction on each others' conduct, consult for the common tranquillity, and, as far as possible, soothe the sorrows of the afflicted church."[1]

[1] Letter to Francfort on the Oder, Jan. 29, 1549. Consil. ii. 81—86. or Epist. i. 82. I do not any where distinctly trace in Melancthon's vindication of himself, and answers to his opponents, the principle which Thuanus, F. Paul, and Melchior Adam concur in ascribing to Flacius, and which is, I presume, the fundamental principle of modern dissent, namely, that things prescribed by authority become, *as prescribed*, unlawful, however indifferent or even laudable in themselves. I can understand the man who says, 'I think my allegiance to Christ, the great head of the church, obliges me to refuse compliance with all human prescriptions in religious matters,' and can respect his conscientiousness, though I think him mistaken: but, if there were those, who, without advancing any such principle, adopted the violent language of Flacius, "Let us see all the churches

A. D. 1548.

Melancthon's Letter to Hamburg.

But his letter to the pastors of Hamburg, who, he observes, were further removed from the scene of danger, and on that account perhaps the more readily censured his concessions, will give us the best view of the case—of the situation of the Saxon churches, of the nature of the concessions made, and of the Christian meekness with which Melancthon defended his own conduct respecting them. We shall therefore conclude our present subject by laying a considerable part of it before the reader. It is dated April 16, 1549, and signed jointly by Bugenhagius and Melancthon.

"Reverend and dear friends—We feel not at all hurt by your lovingly admonishing and even reproving us; for these are necessary duties of friendship, especially in the church of Christ. We only desire, that, in forming a judgment becoming your prudence, your character, and your kindness for us, you would take a candid

deserted, and terrify our rulers with the dread of insurrection, rather than comply in the least particular;" with such men I could cherish no sympathy, nor even comprehend the principles on which they professed to act.

We may here add, that, after considering the care with which Melancthon restricted his compliance to things really indifferent in themselves, there seems little propriety in his adversaries affecting the name of "genuine Lutherans," on the ground of their opposition to him in this particular: for he would seem to have been acting only on Luther's constant principle, that, provided sound doctrine and pure worship were allowed, we were not to contend about minor points.—See vol. i. 56, 232, 494, &c.

I am happy to find the conclusions to which I have come, concerning the conduct of Melancthon and Flacius, respectively, in the adiaphoristic controversy, fully confirmed by Dr. Cox, in his life of Melancthon, c. xi. The original documents, he says, "will prove amply sufficient to furnish the defence" of Melancthon. This judgment, pronounced on such a question by a respectable and learned dissenter, must carry great weight with it.

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view of our conduct, and not hastily condemn old friends, who for more than twenty years have sustained great labours and conflicts in the sacred cause of religion.....

"First, allow us to inform you, that, through the goodness of God, the same doctrine is still heard in our churches and schools as we have for so many years professed in common with you. And, as we are assured that this doctrine is the eternal truth of God, and the constant doctrine of his real church, it is our determination never in any point to change it. For this very object of preserving our doctrine and worship unaltered, we have had sharp conflicts to maintain, during the present year, with persons of great talents, and high consideration in our country. These, we trust, are no ambiguous testimonies of our steadfastness, seeing we incur, for the sake of our principles, odium and danger with which they are little acquainted, who, living at ease, and surrounded with their admirers, heap reproaches upon us. We wish such persons could be present at our discussions, and hear the subtle arguments which we have to encounter.[1]

"The same books are promulgated among us as before the war: nor are other rites observed in our churches than you yourselves have witnessed. In these, though there is not an entire uniformity, more being used in some places and fewer in others, yet is there no such

[1] In a letter to a private friend he remarks somewhat more sharply on these "scornful reproofs of them that are at ease:" "Usitatum est otiosis maledicere presertim miseris." Consil. ii. 97. To Camerarius also he writes more at length on the clear peremptory judgment which bystanders could pronounce, on what ought to be the conduct of those who bore the burnt of the fray. Epist. iv. 231.

difference as to cause any contention among us. A. D. 1549.
You agree with us, that religious assemblies must be held, decent rites used in them, and some sort of discipline observed: in which things, if nothing be introduced contrary to any commandment of God, the particulars are not worth contending about. This you admit: but you are afraid of danger lurking under the term, *things indifferent*. Our sentiments are the same as your own, when you look to this point with an eye of jealousy; and we are sensible that many wish to give things a turn towards the whole popish polity: but yet, when, occupied in an arduous conflict for essentials, we abstain from contending about things indifferent, we think that good and wise men should put a favourable construction on our conduct. We do not apply the term *indifferent* to magical consecrations, to the worship of images, to the carrying about of the host, and other things of that kind: these we utterly condemn, both with our tongues and our pens. We do not even extend the name to silly trifling ceremonies, such as watchings at the graves of the deceased.[1] Persons who make such charges against us do us injustice, and indulge their own wrong tempers. But there are many things, distinct from these, observed by the church from the earliest ages, and conducive to good order, or even to edification, such as festivals, a course of lessons, religious assemblies, examination and absolution before the sacrament, and in order to confirmation, observances connected with public penance[2] and with ordination, solemn vows and prayers at marriages, and decent proces-

[1] Excubias ad sepulchrum.

[2] The practice of the protestant churches under this head is described, Consil. ii. 58-9.

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sions and addresses at funerals. When things of this sort were in use among us, having been retained for beneficial purposes, how could we pretend to say that we would admit nothing of an *indifferent* nature—nothing that was established by custom? Should we, in the spirit of party zeal and hatred, reject the usages of our adversaries, even when they were such as the church of God has ever adopted, even from the primitive times?...We know that your sentiments are remote from this.

"But your censure of us relates not to this becoming conformity of our church to the ancients, but rather to certain foolish rites, revived by some persons in power, with a view to the ultimate restoration of all the papal abuses. Here we are blamed for not offering a more determined resistance, and for even advising the pastors, in some instances, not to abandon their churches on account of these impositions.—Take the following instance: In the territories of the marquis Albert of Brandenburg, the court at first required that the pastors should receive and conform to the whole of the Interim. To this the nobles, the citizens, and the pastors, with a pious union of counsels, respectfully but firmly refused their concurrence. The court then adopted another course, and proposed articles which made no change, either in doctrine or in the public prayers, but only imposed additional rites, and those of a kind which might be borne. Such persons as would not submit to this regulation were ordered to quit the country: and, when many pastors chose the latter alternative, the churches entreated that they might not be deserted. Now what advice was to be given in such a case? Some answer, That the court ought to

have been overawed with the threats of insurrection, and thus deterred from making any changes. But many reasons induced us not to give such advice. Our enemies, who will not allow *us* to prescribe laws, might only have been provoked to harsher measures; they might have called in the emperor's armies, alleging that such a tone of defiance sounded the trumpet of war throughout the country. Nor could we be willing to see the poor people deprived of their pastors, as has been the case in Suabia, where many of the churches are left entirely destitute, or wolves preside in them, and introduce impious doctrine and false worship. If in such circumstances you still disapprove the advice we have given, yet regard us with forbearance, and do not condemn men who teach the same gospel with yourselves, are placed nearer the scene of danger than you are, and, could, in a personal interview, assign to you many reasons in justification of the course they pursue. A. D. 1549.

"It would require more space than a letter affords to explain what has conduced to arm our enemies against us, and to give confidence to their attacks: but we may observe, that our discords, and the want of uniformity in our churches, have furnished our rulers with a pretext for proposing new regulations.

"To shew therefore that we are not moved by the mere desire of liberty, or by the love of novelty, or by hatred for our opponents, we contend for points of importance, with respect to which the better class even of our adversaries cannot shut their eyes against the light of truth. And this we think a more useful course than to quarrel about a surplice,[1] and give oc-

[1] Here simply *vestitus*, in other places *linea vestis*.

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casion to men to say, that we oppose our rulers, raise discords, and expose our country to the ravages of foreign troops, by our folly and obstinacy. For occasioning such evils as these, we must have no light causes to assign. We congratulate you who are placed in different circumstances. But the church has every where and at all times had some degree of bondage, more gentle or more galling, to bear; and you should endeavour to alleviate the severity of that to which we are subjected, and not increase it by condemning us, while we hold fast what is fundamental.

"Let us therefore preserve harmony and good will amongst ourselves, lest the spirit of prayer be injured in us and among the people; and lest lamentable and mischievous disputes arise on unessential points; such as formerly divided the church concerning the proper time of observing Easter. Let those who enjoy more liberty give thanks to God for it, and use it piously to set forth his truth; and let them take care not to relax the reins of discipline. Let such of us as are under bondage acknowledge that we are chastened of the Lord, and never suffer his genuine worship to be corrupted—according to that which is written, *Though all this be come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee.* We would not have the churches disturbed: ... but, when new burdens are imposed, we think it should be seriously considered whether they can be borne, or whether the people must be left a prey to wolves—for we would no more have ceremonies admitted which are contrary to piety than you would.

"We trust our present answer may satisfy you: and our desire is that our harmony may be uninterrupted, and the union of our souls in

God be eternal—as the Son of God, when entering upon his sufferings, prayed that the hearts of all his disciples might be one in God. Farewell!"[1] A. D. 1549.

State of the Lutheran Churches.

In addition to the explicit statement of the writer's sentiments which this letter conveys, it contains some interesting notices concerning the situation of the churches with which he was connected. It appears that up to the date of the letter, when the Interim had been in force nearly a year, no material changes had taken place in the Saxon churches. The same doctrines, it is affirmed, were preached, and divine ordinances administered in the same manner. Others of Melancthon's letters and papers carry down the like information to a later period, and extend it to other places.[2] And it appears, that within this period the emperor began to relax in his zeal for his new form of doctrine. "He wished," says Camerarius, "to have it acknowledged, but he daily more and more connived at the failure of conformity to it, if only his authority were not impeached."[3] We may hence infer, that less change was effected in the Lutheran church by the promulgation of the Interim than is sometimes apprehended.

Misrepresentations of Mosheim and Maclaine.

But with the various documents before him, which have now been reviewed, the reader will be able to form some judgment of the fairness with which Melancthon has been treated by Mosheim and his translator Maclaine, with reference to his conduct at this period. "His natural temper," says the former, "was soft and flexible; his love of peace, almost exces-

[1] Consil. ii. 88—92. or Epist. i. 79.
[2] Ib. 74, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99.
[3] In Vit. Mel. 81, anno 1548. Mel. Consil. ii. 169.

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sive; and *his apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of men in power were such as betrayed a pusillanimous spirit*..... His sentiments on some points of no inconsiderable moment were entirely different from those of Luther..... The ideas of the latter concerning *faith* as the *only* cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of *good works* to our final happiness" &c. were among those on which Melancthon differed from him. Again: Though Melancthon "did not entirely conceal his sentiments during the life of Luther, he delivered them, nevertheless, with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the authority of his colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. *But no sooner were the eyes of Luther closed, than he inculcated, with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted at with timorousness and caution.*"—Some additional points referred to will hereafter be noticed, but those which we have already considered are expressly included. And accordingly the author adds, in speaking of "the incredible bitterness and fury" with which "the doctors of Wittemberg and Leipsic," were attacked by "the defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with Flacius at their head," that "*by the counsel and influence of Melancthon every thing relating to the Interim had been conducted.!!*"[1]—Yet further: "But in the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther... For he regarded as such *the doctrine*

[1] I presume that Dr. Mosheim *may* mean the Saxon regulation of religion, which was sometimes called "the Leipsic Interim:" but what reader will so understand him?

of justification by faith alone; the necessity of good works to eternal salvation; the number of the sacraments," &c. All this untruth (actual though not intentional untruth,) Dr. Maclaine attempts to confirm and strengthen in his notes. "By things indifferent," he says, "Melancthon understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of *the popish worship*, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion." And again: "Melancthon can scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing in the class of things indifferent, the doctrines relating to *faith and good works*," &c.[1]

A. D. 1549.

All this is really intolerable. What can even the most upright of men hope for, when Melancthon, in spite of his repeated and most explicit declarations, is thus represented by his professed friends? "Cease ye from man," and, Expect not your reward from him, are lessons which may quiet a sincere Christian's mind, as far as he himself is concerned; but to have all his attempts to maintain the truth, for the benefit of others, thus falsely represented, and to be little less than quoted as an authority for errors which he has risked his life in opposing; this is an example which might tempt us to seek a refuge in silence and inactivity. But we must resist the temptation, go resolutely forward, and say, "My work is with the Lord, and my judgment with my God."

[1] Mosheim, iii. 374. iv. 35—38. Even Dr. Cox, apparently led by Mosheim, is induced to say, "Melancthon conceived that Luther carried his doctrine, respecting justification by faith only, to such an extent as to nullify the importance and obligation of good works, so that his statements required explanation." Life of Mel. p. 458.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM TO THE PEACE OF RELIGION.

Magdeburg holds out against the emperor.

ONLY four cities of note now held out against the authority of the emperor. These were Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck; the first relying on its strength, and the others encouraged by their proximity to the protestant kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. The resistance of Magdeburg, standing connected with events which changed the whole face of affairs in Germany, demands our particular notice, though for the details we must still refer to the secular historians.[1] The ban of proscription had been some time before published against the city, in the same irregular manner as against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave: but, when it added to its other offences that of resolutely refusing the Interim, Charles further proclaimed it a prey to any one who could make himself master of it.[2] Though the citizens in consequence suffered many calamities, they bore them with an undaunted spirit, and met the emperor's proclamations with the most vigorous manifestoes, justifying their conduct, declaring that they contended only for retaining their ancient liberties and the unmolested exercise of their religion, and that

[1] Robertson, book x. [2] Sleid. 434, 436, 479.

in all other things they were ready to yield the most dutiful submission to the emperor's authority.[1] At length, in the diet held at Augsburg in the year 1550, after Charles's return from the Low Countries, it was resolved to despatch an army against the place, and to besiege it in form; and, on the recommendation of the diet, the conduct of the war was, with the emperor's full approbation, committed to Maurice of Saxony. Maurice's undertaking this service (perhaps procuring his own appointment to it,) was another stroke of that artful and ambitious prince's policy. By successive previous measures calculated to regain the confidence of the protestants, which he had entirely forfeited in the Smalkaldic war, he had done much to risk the emperor's favour, and excite his jealousy: but now, by his apparent zeal against the citizens of Magdeburg, whose spirit and resolution had gained them the general admiration of the protestant party, he allayed every suspicion, and inspired the emperor with confidence, while he at the same time took a most important step towards the execution of the mighty schemes which he was meditating.

A. D. 1550.

Maurice appointed to besiege it.

By Charles's late successes, not only the religion but the liberties of Germany were laid at his feet, and he had but to advance a little further, in order to make himself and his successors as absolute in that country as he had become in Spain.[2] This could not but be most offensive and alarming to the princes of the empire, and to none more so than Maurice, now become the most powerful among them, and, as such, the most impatient of a state of

Situation of the empire.

[1] Sleid. 485, 486, 496, 501. [2] Robertson iv. 306, 307.

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entire dependency on a superior. He appears also to have been sincerely attached to the protestant religion; and he was personally irritated by the cruel imprisonment of the landgrave, his father-in-law, who by his persuasion had put himself into the emperor's hands. All these motives conspired to make him seek the overthrow of that despotic power, which he had so essentially contributed to raise. The conduct of the siege of Magdeburg not only blinded the emperor to his designs, but gave him the command of a powerful army, which he made it his business to keep together till his plans were ripe for execution. With this view, though he made a shew of vigour, he allowed the siege to be protracted through a whole year; and at the close of it granted the besieged such terms, as both secured their religion, and so much attached them to him as to induce them to elect him their burgrave: and all this he managed so dexterously as to avoid exciting any distrust in the breast of the emperor.[1]

Projected restoration of the Council of Trent.

But, before we proceed to the development of Maurice's designs, we must take some notice of the transactions which took place with reference to the council of Trent.

1550. Feb. 7.

In consequence of the death of Paul III, and the succession of cardinal di Monte, under the name of Julius III, to the papal chair, the emperor had now a better prospect of succeeding in his wishes with respect to the restoration of the council.[2] A principal object therefore pro-

[1] Sleid. 503, 514, 528, 529. Robertson, iv. 10—13, 19, 37—42.

[2] Sleid. 487—493. A sad character is here given of both these pontiffs. Also a curious account of the conclave, and the modes of proceeding in the election of a pope, 489, 490. Cardinal Pole had a flattering prospect of being chosen at

posed in the diet opened at Augsburg, July 26, 1550, (which was again overawed by the presence of the imperial troops,) was to procure from its members an explicit acknowledgment of the council, with an engagement to obey its decrees; and, in the mean time, more effectually to provide for the observance of the Interim. But here Maurice acted a part which was to gain him credit with the protestants. He boldly avowed by his deputies, that he would not acknowledge the council unless all points previously decided were reviewed; unless the protestant divines were both fully heard, and allowed to vote in the assembly; and unless the pope renounced his pretensions to preside in it, engaged to submit himself to its decrees, and absolved the bishops from the oath by which they were bound to him, that they might speak and vote with freedom. Yet, in some way not sufficiently explained, he contrived so to represent this daring proceeding, which alone gave any courage and confidence to the protestants, as to create no distrust in the emperor's mind. His protest, however, was not allowed to be entered on the journals; and in the end the diet concluded with a recess, in which the affairs of religion were referred to the council, and all parties were required to send their deputies thither—the emperor engaging to give his safe-conduct to such as demanded it.[1] A. D. 1550. 1551. Feb. 13.

With respect to the Interim, fresh proof was afforded in this diet how much all that had been done had failed of procuring compliance with it. The deputies of the absent electors Failure of the Interim.

this vacancy: but he failed because it was said he "smelt of Lutheranism." 490. F. Paul, 280.

[1] Sleid. 512. F. Paul, 287, 291.

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expressly represented to the emperor, that it had been found impossible to enforce any strict observance of it: that the "inveterate continuance" of men in opposite habits had defeated the attempts made for the purpose; that in the schools the youth had been trained up in other principles; that the people were convinced that the imperial ordinance was in many points repugnant to the word of God; that the religion they had received "could not be soon plucked up from their minds;" and that "instruction was necessary to bring them over by degrees." Indeed so irresistible was the evidence to this effect, that the emperor himself, in the recess of the diet, acknowledged that it had been "impossible to overcome the difficulties" which presented themselves.[1] Even in Augsburg itself and other parts of Suabia, notwithstanding the violence which had been used, and though that circle had been for five years occupied by the Spanish troops, the religious object would seem to have utterly failed: for, in the month of August 1551, the divines and schoolmasters of the city were suddenly brought before the emperor's ministers, and interrogated respecting their non-compliance with the Interim; and, on their still refusing to conform to it, were ordered to quit the place within three days; never more to preach or teach within the limits of the empire; and neither before nor after their removal to communicate by word or in writing, even to their nearest friends, the cause of their departure. And the same course was pursued at Memmingen and in other places.[2]

[1] Sleid. 503. F. Paul, 287, 291.

[2] Sleid. 516, 517, 528. Thuan. i. 270. Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 91. This was three years after Melancthon had

The council, according to the summons issued by the pope, met at Trent, May 1, 1551: but it did not proceed to business till the first of September following.[1] Previously to its meeting, Melancthon had been employed by Maurice to draw up a confession of faith to be presented to the fathers: and Brentius, now made minister of Stutgard, performed a similar service for Christopher, who had a few months before succeeded his father Ulric in the dutchy of Würtemberg.[2] The formulary prepared by Melancthon passed under the name of the *Repetition* of the Confesssion of Augsburg. Both it and the work of Brentius were approved by the ministers of the two provinces, and also by those of Strasburg,—the only one of the free cities which took active measures to provide for the present crisis. It was regretted by Melancthon, George of Anhalt, and other eminent persons, and appears to be so by Sleidan, (who was himself one of the deputies from Strasburg to the council,) that the protestants did not act more together on this occasion, by agreeing on a common confession, and sending common representatives to Trent: this would have better attested their unanimity, and given more weight to their proceedings:

A. D. 1551.

The Council of Trent re-assembled.

1550. Nov.

spoken of "four hundred ministers expelled in Suabia and on the Rhine." The clergy and schoolmasters were brought up from the surrounding country places to Augsburg, and the former, at least, were not suffered to revisit their homes before they went into banishment. On this occasion Granvelle bishop of Arras, the emperor's chief minister, on one of the clergy's requesting that he might be permitted to return to see his wife, whose confinement was daily expected, turned to the company, and brutally observed, "He calls *her* his wife who is his strumpet."—The liberality of John Frederic, in captivity, to these exiles is praised.

[1] Sleid. 503, 513. [2] Ib. 502.

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but they were overawed; and they likewise could not but feel, that nothing was to be hoped for from their appearing in the council![1]

Treatment of the Protestants.

All these preparations, as might have been expected, were of no avail. The ambassadors indeed of Maurice and of the duke of Würtemberg, and the deputies of Strasburg and some other cities associated with it, repaired to Trent, and acted there a firm and manly part: but for the divines no such safe-conduct, as the protestant princes, warned by the case of John Huss, demanded from the council itself,[2] could ever be obtained. The fathers, while they pretended to grant it, constantly limited it by the introduction of the words, "So far as they were empowered," or, "So far as belonged to them to grant it"—which sufficiently indicated, as Father Paul observes,

[1] Sleid. 515. Cam. in vit. Mel. § 90. Mel. Epist. ii. 243, 245. About this time the elector of Brandenburg sent ambassadors to the council, aiming, it is to be presumed, to further the object which he had in view with respect to his son. They made in their master's name high professions of duty and reverence for the council, "but without declaring what was his opinion in point of religion." The fathers answered by their speaker, that they "heard with great content the ambassadors' discourse, especially in that part where their prince submitted himself to the council, and promised to observe its decrees." This answer, says F. Paul, excited much astonishment, as it "claimed ten thousand where the bargain was but for ten"—the elector having really promised no such thing as was assumed. But it was pleaded, that "the council regarded not what *was*, but what *should* have been said—as holy church, yielding to the infirmities of her children, maketh shew to believe that they have done their duty.—A fair gentle means this," remarks our author, "to make men speak that in silence which they will not in words." F. Paul, 322. Courayer, i. 552. Sleid. 526.

[2] "Alleging that in the council of Constance it was decreed and acted upon, that a council is not bound by the safe-conduct of any one whatever." F. Paul, 307.

that they were "leaving a gate open to the pope," and devising means to excuse themselves, should it be thought expedient to violate their guarantee.[1] Brentius and some other divines from Würtemberg and Strasburg ventured to Trent without it; but they could never procure a hearing: and the principal legate, Crescentio, expressed to the emperor's ambassador violent indignation at the idea of their being allowed to present a confession to the assembly. Melancthon likewise, by Maurice's command, proceeded on his way as far as Nuremberg, there to await further orders. —But in the mean time Maurice's designs were matured, and his determination was to adopt measures very different from that of sending divines to carry on useless discussions with the haughty representatives of the Roman catholic church.[2]

A. D. 1552.

Maurice's designs matured.

By a tissue of the most consummate artifice and duplicity, Maurice, though but a young man, had, for nearly two years, so completely imposed upon Charles, the most practised and wary politician of his age, as to dissipate every suspicion that might have arisen in his mind, and to inspire him to the last with the most entire confidence; while he actually formed leagues with several German princes, collected troops and kept them ready on the instant to obey his summons, and even entered into an effective alliance with the king of France, for the subversion of all that overgrown power which Charles had established in Germany. The emperor, who at this time laboured under an attack of the gout, was reposing at Inspruck,

[1] Ib. 321—324.

[2] Sleid. 516, 526, 528—531, 537, 539—541, 543—547. F. Paul. 334, 338-9, 341—350, 352-3.

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within three days journey of Trent, watching the proceedings of the council there, and superintending the progress of a petty war in which he was engaged in Italy; while, with scarcely sufficient troops about him to form his guard, he daily expected a friendly visit from Maurice. Instead of paying him this visit, the latter suddenly sounded the trumpet of war; rushed with a well-appointed army from Thuringia; seized upon Augsburg, from which the imperial garrison fled before him; took by storm the castle of Ehrenberg which commanded the passes of the mountains; and, but for a sudden mutiny among a part of his troops, would have captured the emperor at Inspruck almost before he was aware of his danger. Charles heard of his approach only late in the evening, and, though unable to bear the motion of any other vehicle than a litter, he was obliged to set out immediately by torch-light, and in the midst of a heavy rain, and to be carried across the mountains to hide himself in the fastnesses of Carinthia; while Maurice arriving a few hours after, and finding his prey escaped, abandoned the baggage of the emperor and his ministers to be plundered by his soldiers. Thus taken unprepared by a foe who would not allow himself for a moment to be trifled with, to whose enterprise almost all Germany wished well, and who was powerfully seconded by the military operations of the French king in another quarter, Charles, now destitute of all hope of again forming such a confederation as he had brought to act for the overthrow of the Smalkaldic league, was compelled to have recourse to negociation, and in fact to surrender all the great designs which he had so long been maturing, and had

1552. March. He makes war on the Emperor.

seemed to have successfully carried into effect against the liberties, both civil and religious, of Germany. The particulars of what followed must be sought elsewhere. Suffice it for us to say, that Maurice, when he first took up arms, had avowed three objects as those which he aimed to accomplish, namely to secure the protestant religion—to maintain the ancient laws and constitution of the empire—and to procure the liberation of the landgrave of Hesse. By the first he roused all the favourers of the reformation to support him; by the second he interested all the friends of liberty in his cause; and by the last he engaged on his side all the sympathy which had been universally excited by the landgrave's unhappy situation, and all the indignation raised against the base injustice and cruelty by which he had been betrayed into that situation, and for five years detained in it, after he had fulfilled every condition prescribed, and notwithstanding every intercession that could be made in his behalf.[1] And all these objects Maurice ultimately secured. By the treaty of Passau, concluded August 2, 1552, under the mediation of Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, it was agreed, That on or before the twelfth of that month the landgrave should be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety into his own dominions; that within six months a diet should be held to deliberate on the best means of terminating the existing religious dissensions, and that in the mean time no molestation whatever should be offered to those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg; that, if the diet, thus to be held, should not be able to effect an amicable adjustment of the

A. D. 1552.

Treaty of Passau.

[1] Robertson.

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religious disputes, the stipulations of the present treaty in behalf of the protestants should continue in full force for ever; and that the encroachments complained of, on the constitution and liberties of the empire, should also be referred to the approaching diet.[1]

Its effects.

Thus was laid the basis of the religious liberties of Germany; thus was the fabric of absolute power, of which Charles imagined himself to be laying the top stone, subverted at a stroke; and thus was the protestant church, which had been brought to the verge of destruction, raised again, and placed in safety; and all this, under the controlling influence of divine providence, by the hands of the same man who had been the chief instrument of apparently destroying what he now restored, and establishing what he now demolished. It is remarkable also that the king of France, a zealous Romanist, and a persecutor of the protestants in his own dominions, should have borne a large share in giving permanence and stability to protestantism within the empire; and that a Roman catholic bishop[2] should have been the negociator of the league between him and Maurice, which proved so fatal to the Romish church. "So wonderfully," observes Dr. Robertson—thus giving utterance to a sentiment which it would shew the grossest insensibility not to form on such an occasion—"So wonderfully doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice

[1] Sleidan b. xxiv. Robertson book x. It is remarkable that neither Sleidan (p. 572,) nor Melancthon, (Epist. ii. 539,) in reciting the substance of this treaty, mentions the last article but one—the most important of all. It seems, however, to have been evidently included and acted upon; and Robertson (iv. 92.) gives it without hesitation, referring to Receuil des Traitez, ii. 261, as his authority.

[2] John de Fienne, bishop of Bayonne.

of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his purposes."[1] A. D. 1552.

Maurice in the several towns which opened their gates to him in his march, and in all places to which his power even for a time extended, reinstated the magistrates whom the emperor had deposed, and restored the protestant ministers and schoolmasters whom he had ejected. In particular, he did this at Augsburg; and, though the emperor afterwards reversed his other arrangements in that city, he suffered all the ministers except three to remain, to the great joy of the citizens.[2]

Second dispersion of the council of Trent.

Another effect of Maurice's expedition was a second dispersion of the council of Trent. No sooner did the fathers hear of the capture of Augsburg, than many of them took their departure, and the rest, assembling on the twenty-eighth of April, prorogued the council for two years. Such bodies however, when once separated, are not easily reassembled, and ten years elapsed before the council met again, under the pontificate of Pius IV.[3]

Death of Maurice.

But the work of Maurice was well nigh finished, when he had accomplished this unlooked-for revolution in Germany. In less than a year after the treaty of Passau, he fell in battle against one of his associates in his late enterprise. Albert marquis of Brandenburg,[4]

[1] Robertson iv. 93. [2] Sleid. 560, 573. Rob. iv. 66, 81.
[3] Sleid. 547-8. F. Paul. 353-4.
[4] A supporter of protestant principles, but not to be confounded (as he is in Robertson's index,) with his uncle of the same name, who was master of the Teutonic knights, or, as he is often called master of Prussia. The uncle is noticed by Milner, v. 177 (757): the distinctive title of the nephew was, marquis of Brandenburg-*Culmbach*. Robertson calls it Anspach, iii. 366, and Culmbach, iv. 64. The title derived from Culmbach appears subsequently to have given place to that from Bayreuth.

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who had throughout acted in a very disorderly manner, was notwithstanding allowed to be included in the treaty, provided he on his part acceded to it. But he declined to do so, and chose rather to carry on a lawless and predatory warfare, in which he inflicted great calamities on many of the German states, and left it always in uncertainty which would be the next object of his attack. He was in consequence condemned by the imperial chamber, which deputed Maurice, with the aid of some other princes, to put him down by force. They met in battle at Sieverhausen, in the dutchy of Lunenburg, June 9, 1553, where Albert was defeated with great loss, but Maurice received a wound from a pistol-shot, of which he died two days after. This extraordinary man, who had, by his great talents and unrivalled artifice, wrought changes, apparently so disproportioned to the power which he originally possessed, had not completed the thirty-second year of his age. It has been with some justice remarked, that "the ends which he had in view," in the critical junctures of his life, "seem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as universally extolled for his zeal and public spirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and interested policy."[1] Traces of this sort of judgment concerning him I have found even in the writings of wise and good men,[2] who shared the benefit of his later services: but it is a mode of judging against which it behoves us sedulously to guard; and I fear we must pronounce, that, however the talents of Maurice may command our admiration, and the final

[1] Robertson. [2] Melancthon, Camerarius, &c.

result of his measures gratify our wishes, there was little in his principles which we can respect or approve. A. D. 1553.

The diet for the final settlement of religious affairs was to have been held within six months after the conclusion of the treaty of Passau: but, in consequence of the disorders produced in Germany by Albert of Brandenburg, the wars in which the emperor continued to be engaged against France and in Italy, and Ferdinand's occupation in defending his dominions against the Turks, it did not meet for two years and a half. It was at length opened at Augsburg, February 5, 1555. Ferdinand at first proposed the old and futile expedient of a conference and a compromise. But, this being agreeable to no party, and the protestants receiving the proposal with aversion and even alarm, as falling much short of the provisions of the treaty of Passau, it was abandoned; and in the end a free toleration in their religion, of all such states as received the Confession of Augsburg, was agreed to, and solemnly proclaimed in the recess of the diet.[1] Diet of Augsburg. 1555. Peace of religion. Sept. 25.

[1] Sleid. 626-7. Dr. Robertson (iv. 179.) places immediately after the publication of Ferdinand's speech, as an event which rendered that prince cautious of giving the protestants any new cause of offence, a meeting at Naumburg of the elector of Saxony, (Augustus,) the elector of Brandenburg, the sons of John Frederic, the landgrave of Hesse and his son, and some other neighbouring princes, who there "confirmed the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families," and added to it a new article, binding themselves to maintain the Confession of Augsburg. But I find great apparent discrepancy respecting the time of this meeting. Chytræus, (Saxonia, 480,) who is Dr. R.'s authority, places it in May 1555, three months after the delivery of Ferdinand's speech: and Sleidan (614,) and Hane (ii. 151,) in March of the same year. But Melancthon, who (as well as Sleidan,) attended the meeting, and Camerarius, refer it

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Ecclesiastical reservation.

The question which created the most difficulty and debate related to the course to be adopted in the case of ecclesiastics, in future, renouncing the Romish for the protestant faith. The dignitaries of the Roman catholic church, it was agreed, were to exercise no jurisdiction in protestant states; and the ecclesiastical benefices and revenues, which were in protestant hands before the treaty of Passau, were still to remain so;[1] but, if a Roman catholic in possession of a dignity or benefice became protestant, was he to forfeit his preferment, or to be allowed to retain it? Considering the eagerness with which this point was contested on both sides, it appears surprising that no compromise was attempted. It was expressly allowed to the supreme civil power, in each state, to establish that form of doctrine and worship which it might prefer:[2] would it not therefore have been natural, that, where the establishment was protestant, an ecclesiastic becoming Roman catholic should resign his preferment, as well as that, under a Roman catholic establishment, one should do so who became protestant? Ecclesiastial dignities re-

to the year 1554; and the former in one place to the month of March, and in another to May. It seems to have lasted, perhaps by adjournment, for a considerable time: and thus it might be begun in 1554, and not terminated till the next year.—But whatever were the precise date, the fact itself of such a meeting and engagement is sufficiently important to be recorded. See Camer. Vit. Mel. § 98. Melanc. Consil. ii. 188. Epist. vi. p. 201.

[1] Robertson, iv. 182.

[2] So Robertson states, referring to Sleidan, F. Paul, and Pallavicini. In the two former, however, I found it difficult to trace this permission: but subsequently in Sleidan, 630, the fact is explicitly stated by Ferdinand, in opposition to the demands for reformation advanced by his subjects, which will be noticed in due time.

stricted to Romanist clergymen, under a protestant establishment, appear to present an unintelligible anomaly. Yet I find no arrangement, of the kind here suggested, proposed or adverted to in the discussions which took place, or in the remarks of the writers, whether modern or more ancient, who have recorded them. Each side simply contended either for or against the reformed Romanist retaining the situation, which he had held previously[1] to his change of sentiments.—In the end the Romish party prevailed, and the protestants were constrained to acquiesce in the regulation called the *ecclesiastical reservation*, by which it was enacted, that the churchman embracing protestant principles should forfeit his preferment, but should be subjected to no further molestation. Under the operation of this rule, another archbishop of Cologne, Gebhard Truchses,[2] before the close of the century, was ejected from his dignities and emoluments: but few ecclesiastics have since been found willing to subject themselves to the same risk; and this article in the peace of religion has proved, as it was foreseen by both parties that it probably would do, the great barrier against the extension of the reformation in Germany.[3]

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Thus, after a long-protracted struggle, was a settlement effected, of that kind which alone can be denominated just and reasonable, or which has ever availed to heal such differences. But mutual toleration, or religious liberty, was here introduced more from the necessity of the case, than upon any enlarged and enlightened principle; as the exclusion from this benefit of every other denomination, separate from the

Religious liberty.

[1] Sleid. 620—626. F. Paul. 368-9.
[2] Mosheim, iv. 10. Du Pin. vii. 411. [3] Robertson.

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church of Rome, except that of the Confession of Augsburg, too fully demonstrates.[1] The great principle, that to God alone, and not to his fellow creatures, is a man accountable for his religious belief, and that, so long as he conducts himself as a peaceable subject, he is intitled to the full protection of the magistrate—a principle the very opposite of that which had been received and acted upon during the long reign of popery—was as yet scarcely discovered by here and there a scattered individual: and almost ages more elapsed before it was to any considerable extent proclaimed and admitted. That the universal church had been divinely committed to the government of one sovereign lord and dictator on earth, possessed of despotic sway over all authorities, temporal as well as spiritual, at least wherever religion was concerned; and that the sovereign pontiff might command the services of all the princes of the earth to enforce his decisions, and to preserve uniformity of doctrine and worship throughout the visible church:[2] these were the maxims

[1] Religious liberty was not formally extended to the followers of Zuinglius and Calvin till nearly a century afterwards, by the treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the thirty years war, in 1648.

[2] A paper introduced by some of the Roman catholic party, in the course of the discussions at Augsburg, openly avowed some of the principles of their church in all their revolting deformity. "In things pertaining to the faith no man's conscience should be free; but, whenever any man departs from the common consent of the church, he ought to be punished and restrained:....he is to be excommunicated, and removed from the exercise of his function, his goods are to be seized by the magistrate, and his person not endured in the empire. The fathers have ever rejected liberty of conscience, and toleration in religion, as subversive of the catholic faith....The protestants, having forsaken the communion of the church, are excluded from the kingdom of heaven, even according to their own decisions....How can

on which the Christian world had acted for centuries; and it could not be expected that either governments or individuals should speedily divest themselves of the system of persecution, which flowed from such maxims, and still retained its hold upon the mind, even after the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the original error, on which it was founded, had been detected and renounced. They were incapable of at once tracing to its just consequences the discovery which they A. D. 1555.

the kingdom of heaven belong to those who reject the sacraments of the church, and despise the priesthood to which Christ has given the power of binding and loosing? Now, if there are no ordained priests among them, how shall they obtain remission of sins?" The authors of this paper venture to retort on the protestants the charge of idolatry in the eucharist. "They give the people the whole sacrament indeed, which is nothing but unconsecrated bread—*the creature instead of the Creator*, and thus under the shew of true religion, they exercise idolatry." Sleid. 622-3. The daring expression, "the creature INSTEAD OF THE CREATOR," was fully borne out by the language in common use. "Many pious or superstitious individuals could hardly persuade themselves to lie down peaceably on their beds at night, unless they had SEEN THEIR MAKER, as the phrase commonly went"—meaning, had gazed upon the host—"in the course of the preceding day." Soames, Engl. Reform. i. 346.

The pleas of "private judgment," and "liberty of conscience," have no doubt been most lawlessly abused, and are so in the present day—the most incompetent persons assuming to determine rashly, dogmatically, presumptuously, without any due consideration of the judgment of the wise and good through successive ages, the most difficult questions; and acting as if the use of liberty of conscience were, to divide and separate endlessly, for the sake (one might suppose) of asserting the right and privilege of separation, which might otherwise become dormant. Yet we must no more, on these grounds, reject these essential principles, than we must renounce the use of the understanding or the tongue, because many have abused both one and the other: but we must learn in the use of all our faculties and privileges our responsibility to God, even where our fellow creatures can least claim any control over us.

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themselves had made. Hence were derived those *comparatively* few and trifling instances of persecution, with which the reformers themselves were chargeable, and which at this day many delight to blazon, as if they were equivalent to the wholesale systematic butcheries of the church of Romé, and placed her and the reformed churches on an equal footing. Those persons, who declaim with the most unsparing severity on these cases, would not, we may shrewdly guess, have been among the foremost to cast off the prejudices of the sixteenth century, had they been thrown upon that period, seeing they shew themselves so deeply involved in the prejudices of the age in which they live—an age which, forming an inordinate estimate of its own sagacity, liberality, and illumination, often treats most superciliously men of former times, with whom few among us could well bear to be compared.[1]

Indignation of the Pope, Paul IV.

Proportioned to the degree in which the recess of the diet of Augsburg contravened, and tended to subvert those principles, which the Roman pontiffs had ever laboured to establish, was the indignation expressed against it by the

[1] It will be remembered, that even Dr. Robertson has said, "Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, *as far as they had power and opportunity*, inflicted the same punishments upon such as called in question *any* article in their creeds, which were denounced against their own followers by the church of Rome." It is to be lamented that this respectable writer should have lent the sanction of his name to so grossly overcharged a statement, and thus have helped to countenance the flippant attempts of pretended philosophers to cast obloquy upon religion. The utter falsehood of the charge, as far as Luther is concerned, has been already exposed. (Vol. I. end of Preface.) To the small part of it which is true concerning the others, the observations above made, with many additional ones, apply.

reigning pope. Julius III. had died soon after the diet assembled, and his immediate successor, Marcellus III, (a pontiff of a very promising character,[1]) having survived his elevation only twenty-one days, the papal chair was now occupied by Paul IV[2]—a man worthy to have been the immediate successor of Hildebrand.[3] On receiving advice of the recess of Augsburg, he gave way to the most violent transports of passion. He insisted to the imperial ambassador, that the decree should immediately be declared null and void, as an impious act, founded in the sacrilegious usurpation of powers belonging only to the holy see; and he threatened vengeance against both the emperor and king Ferdinand, if they did not promptly comply with his demand. In vain did the ambassador urge the extreme distress to which the emperor, his master, had been reduced at Inspruck, and under which he had been compelled to form the engagements that had led to the present result. The pope answered, "that he absolved him from his oaths, yea commanded him not to observe them."[4] And in short, moved by this provocation, and wrought upon by the ambitious intrigues of his nephews, he instantly threw himself into the interest of the king of France, who was at war with the emperor.—But papal vio-

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[1] Card. Santa Croce. Rob. iv. 188-9.

[2] John Peter Caraffa, cardinal Theatino, the chief instrument of establishing the inquisition in Italy. Rob. iv. 192.

[3] "He never spoke with ambassadors but he thundered in their ears, that he was above all princes;....that he was successor of him who had deposed kings and emperors;.... and he said publicly at his table, that he would not have any prince for his companion, but (striking the ground with his foot,) all subject under his feet, as it was fit, and as it was His will who built the church, and who had placed them in this degree." F. Paul, 370.

[4] Ib. 369, 370.

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lence had at this time become comparatively harmless.

Abdication of the Emperor.

As for Charles himself, when all his schemes for establishing political and religious despotism in Germany, and transmitting it to his posterity,[1] were dashed in pieces, in the manner that has been described, he became indifferent to the affairs of the empire generally, and in particular to the question of religion, and to the subject of the council as connected with it:[2] and it is not to be doubted, that the disappointment and chagrin he had suffered operated powerfully among the causes that induced him to form and execute the measure, in which scarcely any one has been found as his precursor or his follower—that of resigning his vast dominions—his hereditary ones in the close of the present year, and those which were elective in the year following, and himself retiring into private life. After this extraordinary step, he passed about two years in a state of almost monastic seclusion; and he is supposed to have accelerated his death by the severity of the discipline to which he subjected himself. In this retirement he is said to have discovered not only the vanity of all his past schemes of ambition, but the folly of the attempts, on which he had bestowed so great a portion of his time and labour, to compel men to think alike, or at least to profess the same sentiments, on the deep and mysterious subjects of religion. It is

His death.

[1] Though immediately after the diet of August, 1530, he had successfully exerted all his interest to have his brother elected king of the Romans, and his successor in the empire, yet after the war of Smalkald he spared no pains to induce Ferdinand to surrender the splendid reversion in favour of his son Philip. But he here laboured in vain.

[2] Robertson, iv. 117, 177. F. Paul, 358.

even asserted, that, as he drew near his end, and was more deeply impressed with the awful thought of appearing before the divine tribunal, he approximated more and more to some of the leading doctrines of Luther, particularly that of justification by faith; and it is certain that, after his decease, several of those who had been his latest confidential attendants were seized and put to death as heretics.[1]—He died September 21, 1558, at the age of fifty-eight years. A. D. 1555.

State of real religion.

During all this period but little presents itself to gratify the taste of the spiritual mind, in quest of the interior history of the true church of Christ. Scenes of warfare and ambitious conflict, where the minds of men are kept in a state of constant excitement, and the affairs of religion are controlled by mere secular characters, in subservience to their own selfish designs, must be deplorably unfavourable to the growth of piety. "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace:" and we cannot be sufficiently thankful for a settled state of society. At the same time, let us take care that we do not abuse the repose and the opportunity it affords us, to become in another way "mindful of earthly things," and to seek our rest and portion here below. Still, however, we may trust, that at the period under review many pious pastors were feeding their flocks, and many humble souls were trained

[1] See Milner, v. 462 (1058-9). Contin. of Sleid. 23, 35. Camerar. Vit. Mel. 358, not. F. Paul, 390. Bayle, Art. *Charles V.*

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up for heaven, at a distance from the din and bustle of the transactions which fill the page of history. The correspondence of Melancthon furnishes us with the most pleasing traces of this kind, that we are acquainted with, for the whole era of the present volume, as far as it relates to the Lutheran church: and from his writings we shall now proceed to lay several extracts before the reader.

Extracts from Melancthon—on peace in the church. 1548.

On two contending pastors at Zwickau, he pathetically urges the cultivation of harmony and mutual affection, and thus beautifully describes the effect of peace within the church, in troublous times. "Under all troubles, public and private, it is an unspeakable relief to the hearts of men to see the church where they live in a state of tranquillity. The mind of man chiefly finds repose in prayer to God, which is greatly hindered and interrupted where discord is even within view. Now, since public calamities at the present time greatly afflict numbers, it behoves every pastor to keep his church, as much as possible, like a safe harbour, in which the distressed people may take refuge, and be refreshed by communion with God." Referring therefore to the disagreements of these persons, which had but trifling causes, and yet were of very dangerous tendency, he acknowledges that he and his friends had no authority to dictate: they assumed none: yet they ventured to express their grief at what they heard, and to entreat, that, though each thought his own cause just, they would both wave their rights for the good of the church. "Let one impose less, and the other be willing to bear more: and, if the one would not yield, let the other do it, and not think it disgraceful to be overcome." "No victory, no triumph," he

observes, " is so glorious in the church, as in such contentions to sacrifice our private resentments to the common good."—" We cannot but suppose," he proceeds, "that you frequently meditate on the conduct of the Son of God, how he abased himself below all men, and lay prostrate and suppliant for us before his heavenly Father, and bore *his* just and awful vengeance against our sins, as if he himself had committed them. Reflecting on this abasement of the Son of God, we stand in awe, and deeply lament that you should ever contend eagerly about your personal rank and authority. Let us rather recede from our rights, as the Son of God surrendered his: and, that for the church's sake we may bear the burdens which perhaps do not belong to us, let us not feel it a dishonour to take a lower place, when the Son of God so humbled himself.... We conjure you for God's sake, who hath pronounced, *Blessed are the peace-makers*, drop your contention entirely, and preserve the peace of the church, considering in what times we live."[1] —All this is in the true spirit of S. Paul and of S. Clement, after him, to the Corinthians, and of Christianity itself. A. D. 1555.

His exhortations to various pious ministers, from the time when the Interim was first projected, to maintain their posts, and go on undismayed in their work as long as they possibly could do it, are interesting and edifying. He counsels Pfeffinger of Leipsic, and John Mathesius, in such circumstances to avoid not only political discussions, but all doubtful points of theology; to denounce the sins both of princes and people, as the cause of the exist- On the duties of ministers.

[1] Epist. i. 102. Consil. ii. 74—76.

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ing calamities; to inculcate repentance, reconciliation with God, and the duty of prayer; to direct men to the true source of consolation; to shew them the difference between devout and superstitious worship, and thus to fortify their minds against the corruptions which some might introduce: to reprove those who would inflame the different parties one against another; to move all to sympathise with the sufferers; and to exhort persons in authority to adopt peaceable counsels. And, with respect to the event of their labours directed to such ends, he quotes the words of the Psalm, "He that now goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." "I am convinced," he elsewhere says, "that in this world the true heavenly doctrine will ever have to maintain a conflict with errors and corruptions, and that those who uphold the cause of divine truth will be under the cross, and suffer for their principles. From the beginning of the world it has been so: and holy and enlightened men know that these things must be borne."[1]

On the difficulties of prayer.

In a paper on the question, which it appears embarrassed some persons, of offering public prayers for the emperor, while he was waging war against them, he makes some fine observations on the difficulties attending true prayer. "First, we have to get our minds impressed with just sentiments concerning God—that he will hear prayer—and on what grounds he will hear it. And this is difficult.—Then the real exercise of faith is still more difficult: to draw near to God when our sins would deter us, and

[1] Ep. i. 90. iii. 105. Consil. i. 664-5, ii. 4, 29.

drive us to a distance; and to expect help when we are destitute of all visible protection.—Next comes the due consideration of our own wants, and of those of the persons for whom we are to pray. Now to apply the mind to so many topics, and at the same moment to be afflicted, and to relieve our affliction by the exercise of faith—experience shews all this to be most difficult. Yet, whenever the devout mind calls upon God under a genuine conviction of its sins and its wants, these several things are necessary: and the prayer in which they concur is the effectual one. There is great need, therefore, for ministers to admonish their people upon these topics. A. D. 1555.

"We must first learn to pray for ourselves: then follows (what presents another difficulty,) a due regard for the wants and the afflictions of the church: to implore of God that he would rule and direct its pastors; would protect and guide all that are engaged in the study of his truth; would bring discords and divisions to an end; would repress hypocrites and the wise men of this world—who care nothing for religion; and would manifest his favour to the truly pious and righteous.

"Another subject of difficulty remains—a proper concern for the commonwealth; its sufferings, its wars, the discords of its rulers, the wants of our own and of other countries." He then makes some distinctions, and adverts to scriptural examples, on the question which had given occasion to his paper—observing that it must be an extreme case indeed, that could authorize our declining to pray for any person. "How sad a judgment is it," he says, "to pronounce of any individual that he is a blasphemous and irreconcilable enemy of God. It is

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more safe to regard his error as curable, and to pray that he may be converted to God, and inclined to salutary counsels. We must not be hasty in judging, for great errors have often been found even in the saints of God, and sometimes they even pertinaciously defend them—but in ignorance." He would have them hope therefore that the emperor was involved in error, not engaged in wilful opposition to the known truth: and in this hope they ought to pray for him.[1]

We have already observed, that a constant spirit of prayer for the church at large, for his own family, and for all his numerous correspondents and their various connexions, is one fine trait of Melancthon's epistles. And the subject of prayer itself, we may also remark, is one on which he ever treats in a very delightful manner. He has a due sense of its importance; and he deeply feels how tender a plant, and how liable to be crushed and withered in the unkindly soil and climate of this world, is a genuine spirit of devotion. He therefore anxiously watches over it, and fears lest it should be hurt or lost in the church, amid the disorders that prevailed. He deprecates our entertaining notions or reasonings, which might "weaken the spirit of prayer." "Nothing, he says, is so tender, nothing so easily disordered, as a spirit of devotion: nor is any thing more distressing or more injurious than its being crippled and weakened." Again: "We know, that by all discords, great or small, prayer is hindered: and, when prayer is interrupted, some run into profaneness or atheism, and others sink in anguish of mind and desperation."[2]

[1] Consil. i. 659. [2] Ib. ii. 111, 127. Epist. vi. p. 23.

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About the same time with the paper on prayer for the emperor, he wrote one to Vitus Theodorus, on the subject of ministers censuring the faults of rulers, in which he admirably combines faithfulness with forbearance. Their private faults, as men, he says, must be reproved in common with those of other men guilty of the same; and he recommends going much into particulars of this kind. When their government is oppressive, if the oppression is of a kind that is tolerable, and not such as to drive men into sin, he would have much to be borne with. If it were manifestly tyrannical, it would be a just subject of open expostulation for such ministers as had access to them: though even here he would have it considered, whether the grievances were habitual, or produced by some extraordinary and temporary pressure.[1]

On censuring rulers.

Writing on a passage of Isaiah, he makes the following remark on the interpretation of scripture: "It is necessary in the church diligently to investigate and adhere to the simple, natural, grammatical sense of scripture.[2] We are to listen to the divine word, not to corrupt it. We must not *play tricks* with it, by fanciful interpretations, as many in all ages have done. The plain natural sense of scripture always carries with it the richest and most valuable instruction.[3]"

On the interpretation of scripture.

[1] Consil, i. 662.

[2] So Luther says, "The literal meaning of scripture is the whole foundation of faith—the only thing that stands its ground in distress and temptation." This real sense and meaning is unquestionably the first thing to be sought: the consideration of the uses to which it may be fairly and legitimately applied follows next.

[3] Consil. ii. 196.

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On preaching.

Giving advice, as it would appear, to a young divine, he admirably shews, in few words, the need of learning to a preacher; the want of it in some, and the abuse of it in others; and censures the folly of aiming to catch the admiration of hearers by gaudy language. He then introduces the following description of a preacher, such as he would wish his friend to become. "On the other hand there are those who bring from home with them the (one) design, to speak what is useful and necessary, in appropriate and expressive words. They arrange their matter; they set it forth and explain it; they admonish their hearers what practical use is to be made of every thing delivered; they introduce striking quotations to impress the mind, and examples for illustration; that, from the whole, the people may know what to treasure up in their memories, and carry away with them. They add motives: they address the affections—awaken fear by the awful threatenings of God's word, and excite hope and confidence by its promises. Now they distinctly exhibit the law, and now the gospel, clearly marking the difference between them. One while they are simply expositors of scripture; another, they powerfully address the heart and conscience; rousing men's minds, not by redundant declamation, but by an appropriate solemnity of address.—Such a preacher have I known in Martin Luther."[1]

[1] Elsewhere he especially commends modesty and an unaspiring temper in candidates for the ministry. He was pleased with a young man, who desired for a time to apply himself to the humbler modes of teaching; "for," he says, those who hastily press forward to the high office of public preachers too frequently shew that they seek popular applause. Let us encourage modesty, and inculcate upon young men moderation of mind." Ep. ii. 578.

This was written from Wittemberg, in the interval between the war of Smalkald and that by which Maurice broke the power of Charles V; and the writer adds, "My letter is a hasty effusion in a time of sickness. I feel that I materially injure myself by constant speaking in my public lectures—my strength having been previously broken by cares and labours. But what else is life, than a passage through troubles to a better state? Let us only endeavour that our labours may serve the church of God, and make known his truth."[1] A.D. 1555.

These passages give us some insight into what was going on for the edification of the church. Nor are we left without notices, which shew that the reformed doctrines were still making progress in these troublous times. Progress of the reformation.

John Frisius, abbot of Neustadt in Franconia, is particularly mentioned as having been, in the year 1554, cited before his diocesan at Wurtzburg on suspicion of having embraced Lutheran opinions. A list of more than forty questions, comprising all the points at issue between protestants and papists, was presented to him, and his answers required. He gave them explicitly, confirming his sentiments from the scriptures and the fathers; and in consequence suffered deprivation.[2] Franconia.

We formerly saw with pleasure the strong bearing of the public mind in favour of reformation in the Austrian dominions, and witnessed with pain the manner in which it was opposed and overborne.[3] Similar scenes still present themselves in that quarter.—In the year 1554, Ferdinand found it necessary to issue an edict Austria.

[1] Consil. ii. 153—155. [2] Sleid. 603.
[3] Vol. i. 180, 312—315.

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commanding his subjects to make no innovation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The "princes, nobles, and cities, having often before petitioned on this subject, made strong representations in reply, entreating that this sacrament might be administered among them according to Christ's institution and the practice of the primitive church. Ferdinand expressed his astonishment at their presumption, yet promised further to consider their demand —which they supported by an additional memorial, speaking of what they asked as "a matter that concerned their duty to God, and the salvation of their souls."[1]

1555. Again, a few months after the peace of religion, having occasion to assemble the states of Austria, at Vienna, to provide the means of resisting the Turks, he was surprised to find their first address to him turn on the subject of religion. They observed, that for fourteen years past they had been soliciting him for relief with respect to it, but in vain; that in the mean time no success had attended the efforts made against the enemy, who rather became more formidable; that this indicated the displeasure of God lying upon the country for its sins; so that, "unless God's word were received, and a reformation of manners promoted, they were likely to lose, not only their fortunes and their lives, but their eternal salvation." From time to time, they state, the object of their application had been postponed; but they now entreat him to consider, "how grievous it was to persons, who most ardently desired the salvation of their souls, to be put off to an indefinite period, while in the mean time their minds were kept in anguish, and in

[1] Sleid. 602.

this anxiety and doubt many thousands must end their days.—Certainly," they say, "the word of God, which was revealed to us by Jesus Christ our Saviour, ought to be the only rule which the church should follow; and, if any thing had crept in contrary to that standard, it ought to be rejected, to whatever antiquity it might lay claim." They implore him, therefore, "by the death of Christ, by the salvation of their souls, and by that judgment which shall pass upon all men, that he would allow them, seeing they were not corrupted by any sectarian principles,[1] to live in the true and pure religion, and to enjoy the benefit of the peace lately made in the diet with those who professed the Confession of Augsburg; that they might not be placed in a worse condition than the other subjects of the empire; that such of their ministers as taught according to the inspired word of God might be permitted to live peaceably among them; and that their schoolmasters might not be subjected to banishment or imprisonment." A.D. 1555.

The comment which Ferdinand, in his reply, makes on the peace of religion, the basis of which had been laid under his own mediation, is not a little curious. He tells them, that he could not grant their petition, not for want of inclination to gratify them, but because the thing itself was unlawful, inasmuch as he was bound to hear the church: that he never had compelled any persons to forsake the *true* religion, and never would: that they were no less included in the peace of religion than the subjects of any other German prince: but that "the plain meaning of the decree was,

[1] Such as those of the anabaptists, &c.

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that the people should follow the religion of their prince; and that it granted to all princes, except the ecclesiastical ones, to choose which of the two religions they would embrace, *because the people ought to be content with the choice of their prince*—liberty however being granted to those, who were not satisfied with the religion thus chosen, to sell their estates, and to remove whither they pleased." "Their duty therefore," he tells them, "is, to continue in the old catholic religion which he professes." He consents however to suspend, till the next diet, the prohibition of their receiving the sacrament in both kinds, provided they observed all other laws and ceremonies of the church, without exception.—In reply, they complain heavily of having no other alternative offered them, than that of quitting the land of their forefathers, for which they had ever been ready to shed their blood; and they conjure him, "by all that is sacred, to grant them the inestimable treasure of God's word." "If this," say they, "were a thing of such a nature, that your majesty only were to answer to God for it, certainly we would obey you here, as in all other things: but, seeing every man must give account for himself, and that any moment may be the last of our lives, we cannot but desire and pray, with the utmost earnestness, to have our petition granted."—After yet further replies and rejoinders, they could obtain nothing beyond the relaxation, which has been mentioned, as to the eucharist, and that only in consequence of the necessity of Ferdinand's affairs at the present crisis.[1]

[1] Sleid. 628-632. F. Paul, 372.—We find in Melancthon's Epistles (vi. p. 369) one addressed to N. Pfauser, "a faithful preacher of the gospel at Vienna," 1557.

The subjects of Albert duke of Bavaria, also, were about this time "very troublesome" to him, by demands similar to those made upon his father-in-law, Ferdinand, by the Austrians. But they had little better success;[1] and to this day these two countries, where the chains of religious bondage are riveted by the hand of civil despotism, remain more under the power of Romish superstition, than perhaps any others in Germany. Yet six years after the period of which we now write, the Bavarian ambassador, in the revived council of Trent, made the loudest complaints of the spread of heresy in the country which he represented, and of the scandalous lives of the Roman catholic clergy as giving occasion to it; and he himself demanded some important changes contrary to the usages of the church of Rome.[2] A. D. 1555. Bavaria.

The concessions made by Ferdinand and the duke of Bavaria to their subjects, small as they were, gave great offence to the pope: but his Poland.

[1] Sleid. 633. F. Paul, 372-3.

[2] He said, "he could not relate the wickedness of the clergy without offending the chaste ears of his auditory:... that there were not more than three or four in a hundred who were not concubinaries, or secretly or openly married: and that the catholics in Germany did prefer a chaste marriage before an unchaste celibacy." He demanded therefore a reformation of the clergy, the allowance of marriage to them, the sacrament in both kinds, &c. "The Frenchmen present," says F. Paul, "hearing this oration, were well pleased, because they now stood not alone in freely admonishing the prelates of what was fit to be told them: but, hearing the answer, which was courteous to the Bavarian, though it had been sharp to them, they grew jealous. The difference was, that, though the former did keenly bite the clergy in general, yet he spake of the fathers with much reverence; whereas the oration of the former (the Frenchmen) was especially directed to reprehend those that heard it.—But they were both *used* alike, being heard with the ears only." F. Paul, 493-4.

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mortifications of that kind did not end with those two instances; for, only a few days after he had received information of them, the Polish ambassador, who had come to congratulate his holiness on his elevation, marred all his intended compliments, and gave him the most intolerable offence, by demanding, in the name of the king and kingdom, that mass should be celebrated among them in the vernacular language, the eucharist administered in both kinds, marriage allowed to the clergy, the payment of annates abolished, and a national council assembled in Poland to reform abuses and settle disputed doctrines.[1] Such demands sufficiently shewed, as the pope expressed it, "how much Poland was in danger;" though, if any hopes were really entertained, on the part of the claimants, of obtaining their demands, it must have demonstrated a simplicity almost childish, and an entire ignorance of the character, not only of the reigning pontiff, but of the papacy itself.

Spain. 1556.

In Spain also indications were found of even a vast scheme being on foot for the propagation of the opinions of Luther throughout the Peninsula: but the seeds of protestantism were crushed in the very infancy of their growth in that country, by the iron hand of the inquisition.[2]

The Palatinate. 1556.

At the same time, whatever had been wanting to the complete reformation of the Palatinate was supplied by the accession of Otto Henry to the electoral dignity. He prohibited the performance of mass, and the use of the Romish ceremonies throughout his dominions.[3]

[1] F. Paul, 374. [2] Llorente's Spanish Inquisition.

[3] F. Paul, 373. Compare above, vol. i. 304—306, 450: where p. 304. l. 6 from bot. for "*two* years" read "*some*

A. D. 1555.

These accounts of the progress of the reformation give evidence that persecution still more or less attended it. This was from time to time carried on with great severity in France:[1] and the latter part of the period which we have been reviewing was that of the Marian persecution in England.—But the particulars of those transactions belong not to the present portion of our history.[2] Persecutions.

In Ferdinand's reply to the states of Austria, we have heard him boasting that he had never compelled any man to forsake "the true religion," nor ever would do it: but we must allow him to put his own interpretation exclusively on the term, in order to give even the semblance of truth to the declaration, as applied either to the present or the preceding parts of his reign. —One of the circumstances which had rendered his opening speech in the diet of Augsburg alarming to the protestants was, that it was accompanied by the report that he had banished about two hundred ministers out of Bohemia— a report which was soon too fully confirmed.[3] To these exiles Melancthon wrote a letter in the name of himself and his friends at Wittemberg, from which some extracts may here be given. It is dated February 13, 1555, and addressed "to the venerable and learned pastors teaching the true doctrines of the gospel on the borders of Bohemia and Lusatia." Probably, when driven out of Bohemia, they might remain Bohemia.

years." Frederic II. succeeded Louis V, in 1544: Otto Henry succeeded Frederic, 1556.

[1] Sleid. 411, 521-2, 587-8. F. Paul, 362.

[2] Father Paul says of the persecution in England, "It is certain that in one year 176 persons of quality were burned for religion, besides many of the common sort." F. Paul, 362. Courayer ii. 13.

[3] Sleid. 610, 613.

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in Lusatia, (which was for the most part subject to the elector of Saxony,) near to their former residence; or some of them might not yet be actually expelled; which may account for what is said of their still continuing to confirm their people.—"We have heard," he says, "with extreme grief, that the pastors in your parts are ejected from their charges, and that innocent and worthy men, with their wives and families, are wandering in exile. We are greatly distressed at the news, both for your sakes, and for the sake of your churches; and we implore the Son of God, who hath said, *I will not leave you orphans,* to relieve these calamities, and to afford you the help of which you stand in need. As, however, the sources of consolation are known to you, we write the more briefly, only exhorting you, as long as it is in your power to address your flocks, not to cease to confirm their minds, that they may not, on account of your sufferings, hesitate concerning the doctrines they have received.—As nothing tends more to support the mind than a clear understanding of the truth, present to them the two systems in strong contrast to one another. The papal faction uphold manifest idolatry—the invocation of the dead, with many monstrous superstitions growing out of it. They impiously prostitute the sacrament of the Lord's supper for gain, and worship the bread which they carry in procession. They take away the true doctrine of the gospel concerning repentance; feign vain satisfactions for sins; torment humble consciences by the confessions which they make necessary to forgiveness; destroy the consolation proposed to us in the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ; and establish modes of worship of human invention. Never let the

people think, when our differences are on such points as these, that we excite unnecessary controversies. Often therefore let them hear a summary of the true doctrine: and set before them the solemn sentences. *Flee from idolatry: If any man teach another gospel, let him be anathema: The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven.*—These thunders of the word of God fail of dismaying the enemies of the gospel, many of whom knowingly oppose the truth. They flatter themselves, and feign deceitful pretexts for their conduct. While they establish idolatry, they pretend that they only support order; and deny that married men, or men not ordained by (their) bishops, can administer the Lord's supper." These pretences he discusses, and then repeats the exhortation, frequently to revolve in their own minds, and to present to the people, the whole body of doctrine for which they contended. "You will support your afflictions," he observes, "with more composure, when you consider, that you suffer this cruel treatment, not for a private cause, but for the true and indispensable doctrine of God.—The same considerations also will confirm the people in their adherence to the truth, and in their endeavours still to maintain their churches.—We have written to assure you of the sympathy of our churches: and we implore the Son of God, the Word of the eternal Father, to preserve the ministry of the gospel in many countries, and to teach, guide, and protect both you and us. Be sure that the churches of these parts will never be wanting to you, when they can render you any friendly and hospitable services."[1]

A. D. 1555.

[1] Mel. Epist. i. 78, or vi. p. 361.

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We cannot but admire the paternal, the truly apostolical manner, so much according to the model of the inspired epistles themselves, in which the venerable reformer here "comforts the feeble-minded, supports the weak," watches over both pastors and flocks, and gives the wisest counsels to each class, under their afflictions.

Controversies.

It is deeply to be regretted, that, beset as the protestant church in Germany was by external enemies, it should not have been at peace within itself. But we are compelled again to advert to the various and bitter controversies, by which it was agitated from the very termination of the Smalkaldic war.

On the sacrament.

1552.

The sacramental controversy was now revived, and carried on with much acrimony. Hardenberg of Bremen, a disciple of Melancthon, embraced the Zwinglian doctrine, to which Melancthon himself is believed to have become less and less averse as he advanced in life; while Westphal of Hamburg maintained

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that of Luther; and Calvin, Bullinger, and John à Lasco subsequently engaged in the dispute.[1] Brentius, who had shewn himself no very mild partisan in behalf of Luther's doctrine on this subject, observes upon it, "I know not whether any thing more obstructed the cause of the reformation, and the progress of the heavenly doctrine, than this controversy." But we shall enter no further into the painful subject than to transcribe the following remark, which has been made upon Luther's conduct relative to it, and the lesson to be derived from the review of the whole. "No historical topic can be more instructive to every class

[1] Sleid. 619. Hane, ii. 146-7.

of readers, and especially to those whose opinions may have weight in a revival of religion, than this lamentable discussion. The only question on which Luther lost his temper, betrayed his cause, injured the progress of reformation, grieved the Spirit of grace, and split the infant church, was *that in which he was most clearly wrong*.... Let those who are in danger of magnifying points in dispute be warned by this example. Let them see how prone to error are the greatest and purest minds; let them be slow in committing themselves beyond the exact prescriptions of revealed truth; and, above all, let them dread erecting such points into terms of communion, and creating a lasting division in the affections of Christians."[1] A. D. 1555.

The adiaphoristic controversy also was still carried on, and extended to new points, with bitter animosity against Melancthon and his friends. Flacius, the prime leader on the side opposed to Melancthon, had now quitted Magdeburg, and for a time held a professorship under the sons of John Frederic at Jena, where he had drawn to his party Aurifaber, Amsdorf, and other friends of Luther. By the adherents of Melancthon he is charged with ingratitude to his old master—for Melancthon had not only guided his studies, but, from his own very moderate funds, had materially contributed to his support while he pursued them,—as he did to that of many other young men of promising talents and but slender fortunes.[2] But we will not enter into these charges and recriminations. That Fla- Adiaphoristic controversy.

[1] Christian Observer, 1827, p. 46.

[2] Cam. Vit. Mel. § 75, 82, 83, 104. Melch. Ad. i. 33, in Amsdorfio.

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cius was a man of a violent and impetuous spirit, and that Melancthon generally bore his attacks with great moderation, seems indisputable. He terms him indeed, in his familiar letters, "the Illyrian viper," and says he brought charges against him which were barefaced falsehoods:[1] but the following is a specimen of his manner of addressing and publicly
1556. treating the man himself: "You claim great credit for not publishing as mine a letter which I never wrote, but which is a mere forgery... You have published the Leipsic formulary, both garbled and interpolated. What moves you to attack an old friend, who has loved you, with such arts as these?...I have never changed the doctrine of the Confession. Even concerning rites of an indifferent nature, I have contended but little about them, for they were already received in most of the churches in these parts. When you raised opposition to them, I kept quiet: I did not enter into controversy. Ajax, in Homer, was satisfied when Hector retired and left him master of the field; but you never make an end of accusing me. What enemy acts in this way—striking those that yield, and throw down their arms? Take the victory: I yield it: I will not dispute about these rites: I long for the peace of the church. I even acknowledge that I did wrong in not keeping aloof from these insidious consultations, and ask God pardon for so doing: yet I must refute the false charges which you and Gallus bring against me."[2]—To the pastors of

[1] Melanc. Consil. ii. 119, 120, &c.

[2] Ib. 254, 255. Nicolas Gallus was another eager partisan.—Wiesmann, who has reviewed these controversies, appears to consider this letter as a retractation, on the part of Melancthon, of his adiaphoristic doctrine. Introd. ad Hist.

the Saxon churches he writes on the same subject: "I receive in silence the buffets that are given me: yet Flacius and Gallus never cease reviling me. Both the courts of princes and the people are excited against me with wonderful artifice: yet the mischief would only be increased, and fresh controversies raised, should I answer them. I look to the judgment of wise and good men, who are not alienated from me by the clamours and calumnies of my adversaries.—I am cheered by the hope that in a little time, under the guidance of the Son of God, I shall quit the confusions of this world, and join the church in the heavenly state, where peace reigns, and truth is contemplated with unmixed delight. I hope also, that an enlightened posterity will judge more equitably of my labours."[1] A. D. 1555. 1557. Jan.

Melancthon, however, could not always restrain his friends within the limits which he prescribed to himself; and their interposition, we are told, on some occasions did but inflame the existing evil, and add 'oil to the fire.'[2]

The questions relative to justification will be more interesting to us. The notion of Controversies on Justification.

Sacr. i. p. 1535. To me, I confess, it bears no such character. It shews the course which the writer of it had pursued towards his angry opponent. Elsewhere he says, "It has long been my philosophy, to abstain from contending with an angry man." (Epist. ii. 322.) He might also fairly lament having involved himself in troublesome and dangerous deliberations, without having changed his opinion on the main point at issue. He speaks to that effect fifteen years before the date of this letter: "I shudder as often as I think of the court, and of the deliberations to be entered upon there." "I have suffered long enough the tortures of the court." "I wish I had ever kept at a distance from the courts of princes," &c. Epist. vi. pp. 104-5, 129, 167. iv. 233—238, 264, 265, 300, 335.

[1] Consil. ii. 259, &c. [2] Cam. Vit. Mel. § 104.

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Osiander upon this all-important subject has been already explained.[1] He held that we are justified, not by virtue of Christ's obedience unto death for us, but by the essential righteousness of the divine nature, in some mystical manner imparted to us, and dwelling in us. One or two remarks of Melancthon upon this dogma are all that need be quoted; but some notice of its author himself may not be without instruction, as furnishing a warning against vanity and self-conceit.

Account of Osiander.

Andrew Osiander (the same whose niece our Cranmer married,) was a native of Bavaria, who, after studying at Wittemberg, settled in his own country. He was a man of considerable talents and attainments, being, in particular, master of a popular eloquence; and he early distinguished himself in the cause of the reformation. But all his more valuable qualities were vitiated, and rendered to a great degree useless, by a large mixture of arrogance, conceit, and fondness for new discoveries in religion. Of this he gave a very offensive proof at the conference of Marpurg in 1529. By desire of the landgrave, each of the divines there present was to preach in his turn. Luther took for his subject the great question, "How shall man be just with God?" Osiander the next day took the same text as Luther had done, and "philosophized concerning righteousness," with such refinement as disgusted the wiser part of his hearers, and raised a suspicion that he secretly cherished more novelties than he was willing to avow. To his sermons and conversation, however, at the diet of Nuremberg, seven years after this time, is attri-

[1] Vol. i. 324.

buted the conversion, to the protestant faith, of the elder Albert of Brandenburg :[1] whence, on quitting his situation at Nuremberg at the period of the Interim, Osiander, at Albert's invitation, removed into Prussia, to the university then recently founded at Königsberg. During Luther's lifetime he had been held under restraint by the influence of that reformer, but afterwards, as he himself flippantly and in very unbecoming language expressed it, "When the lion was dead, he cared not for the foxes." Hence he broached many strange dogmas, the memory of which was soon lost in that concerning justification. This last continued to excite much controversy for some time after the death of its author in 1552, till at length the dispute was happily appeased, and the true doctrine of the reformation publicly established in Prussia.[2] A. D. 1555.

The remarks of Melancthon on Osiander's notion of justification, which we proposed to transcribe, are the following. "Osiander holds that we are righteous by the divinity dwelling in us.—This differs little from the doctrine of the heathen philosophers, who taught that man attains not to virtue but by a divine influence.—We also readily acknowledge that God Melancthon on his dogma.

[1] Milner, v. 177. (757.)

[2] Melch. Ad. in Osiandro, i. 110—115: item i. 167. At pp. 111, 112, here referred to, may be seen a long letter addressed to Osiander, by Joachim Morlin, "a learned, eloquent, and pacific divine," who had been expelled from Gottingen by Eric of Brunswick, and was commissioned by Albert to make peace between Osiander and his other divines. Osiander's reply may be fairly termed insolent. He treated Melancthon also with great disrespect and asperity, "all which," says Melchior Adam, "the meek old man bore with an undisturbed mind, and even subsequently mentioned his assailant with respect."

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dwells in the regenerate, so as to produce not only virtuous emotions, but even the commencement of eternal life—to make us *partakers*, as S. Peter expresses it, *of a divine nature*..... But then there exists a question of another kind: How may man receive remission of sins and reconciliation with God? or have righteousness imputed, or reckoned, unto him? Is this from the indwelling of Christ in us, or by his obedience for us?... Osiander in effect says, that we are justified by our renovation to holiness. We, on the other hand, while we admit the necessity of renovation, hold that the renewed man is justified, or accepted of God, for the sake of Christ's obedience."[1]

Again: "I regard Osiander's dogma as no mere logomachy, or strife of words. He differs from our churches on a very essential point, and obscures, or rather destroys, the only consolation provided for distressed consciences; seeing he leads us not to the promise of mercy, through the obedience of the Mediator, but directs us to another object."[2]

Thus does the venerable reformer, while he clearly states and distinguishes the true doctrine of justification, still treat it not as an abstract truth, but with direct reference to the heart and conscience: and thus does he guard us against supposing, that, because two things are both necessary, one may perform the office of the other.

The doctrine of Lauterwald.

On the error of Lauterwald, who in another way corrupted the same great doctrine, we may be tempted to offer somewhat larger extracts,

[1] Camer. Vit. Mel. Strobel. Append. 19.
[2] Mel. Consil. ii. 158.

because, though it much less agitated the protestant church at the time, it was a species of error which has spread its influence much more widely, and been much more permanent. It bordered closely on what was maintained by the more temperate papists, Pflug at Ratisbon, Gropper at Cologne, and Heldingus in the Interim; and it is virtually the same which is still supported by great names among ourselves, though it could never to any considerable extent make its way among protestants of the age of the reformation. A. D. 1555.

Matthias Lauterwald was the minister of Eperies, in Upper Hungary. He had been known and esteemed at Wittemberg: but was fond of refinements, and too prone to contention.[1] His sentiment was, that our repentance, our love, our obedience are all *included* in the faith that justifies us, and are thus conjointly with it the means of procuring us the benefit of Christ's redemption. On this Melancthon thus speaks, in delivering "the judgment of the university of Wittemberg" to the senate of Eperies. "Though true faith, or reliance on the Saviour, cannot exist in those who go on securely in their sins, and are destitute of contrition, yet contrition and new obedience are not, as Lauterwald would make them, the means of applying the promise of grace. Contrition necessarily precedes; but when he asks, whether as a cause or a means? we answer, As neither, but rather as a wound, or the feeling that we are wounded, precedes a cure.—The whole human race is obnoxious to the dreadful anger of God. A sense of this is awakened in the mind either by the ministry of the word, by

Melancthon's animadversions upon it. 1554.

[1] 'Amans argutiarum, et pugnax."

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our experiencing the consequences of sin, or by other means. Under these convictions many perish, quarrelling with the divine judgment, or with Epicurean contempt setting it at defiance. Others, casting away the arms of rebellion, and seeking consolation from the gospel, receive remission of sins, reconciliation with God, justification, and quickening (or renovation) by the Holy Ghost. And here the promise is embraced and applied only by faith, or affiance in the Mediator, and not on account of our contrition, or the virtues that follow after. Faith relies only on the Mediator, or on the mercies promised for his sake; in which the heart rests, knowing that the promises are sure in him."—The writer then quotes some apposite passages of scripture, Psalm vi. 4, Daniel ix. 17, 18, Romans iv. 16, and proceeds: "In order to understand these scriptures, we must cherish, not idle speculations, but true convictions of sin, and the genuine consolation which is found in turning to God, and calling upon him daily.—We teach not empty refinements, but divine truth; what is most necessary in practice, and easily intelligible to pious minds. We say, that men, *all* men, ought to be convinced of sin by the word of God, and, under this alarm of conscience, to fly by faith to the Mediator; and that by this faith, gratuitously, not for the sake of works either antecedent or consequent, remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and justification are received; and that those who thus believe in the Son of God are quickened by him, who speaks peace to their consciences, and delivers their hearts from the pains of hell, by his Spirit given unto them: and that thus new obedience is begun.—That these things take place in true conversion is

matter of experience to all pious persons.— Never would David say that he had remission of sins for the sake of his good works now performed, either in part or in whole.—Let us put such corruptions of the truth far from us, and not suffer humble souls to be deprived of their true consolation. Under real distress of conscience, no ground of comfort will avail but that which S. Paul lays down, *Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace, to the end the promise might be sure.*" A. D. 1555.

Here again is the true way of preaching the doctrine of justification by faith—applying it as a healing balm to wounded consciences. Minds so prepared will not long misapprehend it, when it is fairly proposed to them: neither will they abuse it. This doctrine is no mere theory to be learned; but a remedy to be applied, first in our own case, and then for the benefit of others.

We add a few more sentences from the same important paper. "Lauterwald's corruption of the doctrine does not differ from the synecdoche of the monks,[1] who say that faith justifies

[1] By which faith was considered as a comprehensive name for all Christian graces and virtues.

To supply a hiatus, occasioned by a correction which it was found requisite to make after this sheet had passed the press, I here insert a letter of Melancthon's to Brentius, for which a subsequent note (p. 123,) refers the reader to an intended appendix. It was probably written soon after the year 1530.

"I have received your copious epistle, which afforded me great pleasure. Let me beg you to write frequently and fully. I perceive what is your difficulty on the subject of faith. You are entangled in Augustine's notion, who goes the length of denying that our natural righteousness (rationis justitiam) is counted for righteousness before God—and so far thinks rightly; but then supposes that we are accounted righteous (or justified) on the ground of that fulfilling of the law, which the Holy Spirit produces in us. You think therefore that we are justified by faith, because by faith we receive

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us as being the originating principle of love and of good works. But the fact is this, nothing but faith *lays hold* on the promise. In this, faith differs from all other works, that it alone embraces the promise, and receives the blessing as unmerited. Other works offer something to God: nor can the application of the blessing

the Holy Spirit, that we may become righteous by fulfilling the law through his influence and operation. This notion makes our own obedience, purity, or perfection to be our justifying righteousness: and such renovation, it is confessed, must follow faith. But do you, my friend, turn off your eyes from this object, and from the law altogether, and fix them on the promise and on Christ; and perceive that we are accounted righteous, that is, are accepted of God, and have peace of conscience, for Christ's sake, and not for that of our renovation to holiness. For this latter is not adequate to that end. We are justified by faith alone, not because of that grace's being, as you write, the root of all virtues, but because it lays hold on Christ, for whose sake we are accepted, whatever be the amount of our renovation—which indeed must necessarily follow, but is not the thing that gives peace to the conscience. Love therefore (though it is *the fulfilling of the law*,) is not that which justifies, but faith only—not as constituting any perfection in us, but as apprehending (or embracing) the Saviour. We are righteous, (or justified) not because of our fulfilling of the law, or our love, or our renovation, (though these are the gifts of the Holy Spirit in us,) but for the sake of Christ—whom we apprehend by faith alone.

"Augustine does not fully come up to the meaning of S. Paul, though he approaches nearer to it than the schoolmen; and I cite him,* because of the general opinion entertained concerning him, though he does not sufficiently explain the righteousness of faith.—Believe me, the controversy concerning this subject is momentous and difficult. You will however rightly understand it, if you entirely turn away your eyes from the law, and from Augustine's notion of fulfilling the law, and fix your thoughts altogether on the free promise; considering that we are justified, or accepted and find peace, through the promise (alone) and for the sake of Christ. —This is the true doctrine, which sets forth the glory of Christ,

* The vith vol. of the Epistles (1647,) here adds—injuriously, it would seem—"as fully agreeing with us"

by means of works be understood in any other way, than that they effect it by some merit which they possess. Lauterwald, therefore, while he rejects the name of merit, retains the thing, and imposes upon himself by vain speculations.—As to his urging that grace is pro- A. D. 1555.

and wonderfully relieves and cheers the conscience. I have endeavoured to explain it in the Apology," or Defence of the Confession of Augsburg: "but I could not there speak so freely, because of the cavils of our adversaries, as I now speak to you; though in fact, I [in each case] say the same thing.—How would the conscience ever enjoy peace and assured hope, if it had to reflect thus: 'Then at length we may be accounted righteous, when our renovation is perfected.' What else is this, but to be justified according to the law, and not according to free promise?—In that discussion [the Confession or the Apology] I said, that to attribute justification *to love* is to attribute it to our own work—understanding by that, a work wrought in us by the Holy Spirit. For faith justifies not as a work of the renewing of the Holy Ghost in us, but (simply) as embracing the Saviour; for whose sake, and not because of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in us, we are accepted to the favour of God." Melanc. Epist. i. 99, or vi. p. 371.

The student, in reading bishop Bull's Harmonia, is earnestly requested to compare with it this letter of Melancthon's, and the judgment concerning Lauterwald.

The letter before us has been severely carped at by Bossuet (Hist. des Variat. I. v. 29, 30.) on two grounds: 1. As implying that Melancthon had a secret doctrine concerning justification, which he dared not avow in the Confession and Apology: and 2. As acknowledging a dishonest use of Augustine's authority. The first charge is manifestly frivolous. He says, *Reipsâ idem dico*—'I say the same thing in the Confession and Apology as here, though I could not speak so freely in the midst of enemies, as I do in correspondence with a friend.'—With respect to the latter, we are certainly surprised at the statements here made concerning Augustine—unless we might suppose some of his earlier works to be intended: but the question of fairness or unfairness, in the use made of his authority, must depend on the *extent* to which Melancthon had represented him as going along with the reformers in their doctrine.—In the next epistle, (vi. p. 374,) Brentius is spoken of as having written in manner that was satisfactory to both Melancthon and Luther.

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mised to a *complete* repentance, if he does not make the just distinction between the different things comprehended under that name,[1] and assign to each its proper place and office, we do not admit his position. To *contrition* grace is promised, as healing to a wound: *faith* applies the remedy: but in no sense can it be said that pardon is promised in consideration of the *works* to follow.—He will say perhaps, this is only reciting our constant ditty. And we admit that we do constantly repeat the same doctrine on this subject; because no other is true."

Surely it must be superfluous again to point out, how precisely this is the doctrine of our own Articles and Homilies. "Because by faith, given us of God, we *embrace the promise* of God's mercy, and of the remission of sins—WHICH NONE OTHER OF OUR VIRTUES OR WORKS PROPERLY DOTH—therefore the scripture useth to say, that faith without works doth justify." "Faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it SHUTTETH THEM OUT FROM THE OFFICE OF JUSTIFYING. So that, although they be all present together, yet THEY JUSTIFY NOT ALL TOGETHER."[2]

The divines of Wittemberg go on to observe, that Lauterwald, in support of his sentiment

[1] That is, when it is taken, as Melancthon often takes it, as equivalent to the whole of *conversion*. Compare 2 Cor. vii. 10. "The term *repentance*," Melancthon says, "often properly signifies contrition, or godly sorrow: but the usage of the church applies it to the whole of *conversion*," or turning to God: "and therefore I also have so used it—because I willingly retain established language." Otherwise he would have preferred calling the latter *conversion*, "according to the practice of the prophets," and restraining *repentance* more strictly to sorrow for sin. [2] Hom. of Salvation.

reduced faith, (considered, of course, apart from the comprehensive sense which he assigned to it,) to mere historic assent, which might exist without love: they treat his error as so material that they exhort the senate, in case he would not acquiesce in the judgment now given, to refer the question to the protestant churches at large; and, if he should still resist their united decision upon it, not to continue him in the office of their pastor. It was with grief and reluctance that they offered this advice, but they felt compelled to do it.[1] A. D. 1555.

Considerable dispute also arose about this time concerning the exclusive term *only*, as annexed to *faith*, in speaking of justification. Of this however, after what we have already seen, our notice may be very brief. In what sense the term *faith only* was and is applied,[2] must be evident to every candid inquirer; namely, not as denying the coëxistence of other Christian graces along with faith in the man that is justified, but only as excluding them from the office of justifying him; not, again, as making faith to be his justifying righteousness, but only the link which connects him with the Saviour, by whom, and for whose sake, he is justified.—Flacius, it seems, among his other charges against Melancthon, accused him of having given up the exclusive term: but the truth of this charge the reformer utterly denies. "I never said, I never wrote, I never thought, that it was an inaccuracy, or a mere refinement. On the contrary, I have said and written more Faith only.

[1] Consil. ii. 189—193.—I here subjoin in the appendix a remarkable letter of Melancthon's to Brentius, on the subject of justification, and on Augustine's views of it, which has been sharply animadverted upon by certain writers.

[2] Church Art. xi.

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in explanation and defence of this form of speaking, than others have done. When our adversaries urged that the term *only* did not occur in the scriptures, I always answered, that exclusive terms were frequently repeated by S. Paul upon this subject.—They urge that faith is not *alone* in us. I admit this in all its extent, when speaking of the faith to which we ascribe justification; and to preclude the misunderstanding of the subject which the objection supposes, I have said that I would not contend for a particular term, and have sometimes substituted the word *gratis*, or *freely*, which S. Paul, a master in the use of terms, has also employed."—Such is the substance of Melancthon's answer, frequently repeated; and it shews the whole 'head and front of his offending,' for which he was fiercely assailed in his own day, and for which unfounded charges are still brought against him.[1]

Controversy concerning the necessity of works.

The controversy which arose concerning the necessity of good works to salvation may chiefly deserve to be noticed, as affording a warning against pushing sentiments, which have a right foundation, and are in their just sense, and within their proper limits, of essential importance, to an extreme, or deducing extravagant and dangerous inferences from them. Even Amsdorf the old friend of Luther, consecrated by him bishop of Naumburg,[2] now went the length of maintaining, "that good works were not only not necessary to salvation, but were an obstruction to it!"[3]

[1] Consil. ii. 118, 119, 120, 269, 274. Compare Mosheim, iv. 36—38, and Maclaine's notes; and above, p. 71.

[2] Vol. i. 307-8.

[3] "Bona opera sunt ad salutem noxia et perniciosa." Melch. Ad. in Amsd. i. 33. Mel. Consil. ii. 308.

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1536.

And at a much earlier period Melancthon writes: "Cordatus stirs up against me the city, the surrounding countries, and the court itself, because, in explaining the controversy concerning justification, I said that renewed obedience was necessary to salvation."[1] Yet these persons did not mean to be antinomians, or to encourage an abuse of the grace of God; but they had unhappily possessed their minds with the idea, that good works could not be insisted on as in any sense necessary to salvation, without their being made necessary to procure it, as a meritorious cause.[2] George Major, an excellent person, and a professor at Wittemberg,[3] first drew upon himself the attacks of Flacius, Gallus, and Amsdorf, on this subject; and from him they fixed upon those who held the necessity of works the name of *Majorists*. Yet his position, as originally made, and afterwards more distinctly explained by himself, seems to have been no more than all sober-minded men must admit, and in no degree to have compromised the freeness of justification. Yet such was his desire to prevent controversy, and to live at peace, that he offered in future to decline the use of the language which had given offence.[4] Even Melancthon seems to have gone unnecessarily far in concession upon this point. He continued to insist on good works, or renewed obedience in heart and life, as *necessary*, but he renounced the expression *necessary to salvation*.[5] Yet

[1] Epist. vi. p. 438: item, 403.

[2] Others were more directly antinomian: they went the length of openly maintaining that the decalogue was abolished, that it ought not to be taught in the churches, &c. Mel. Epist. iv. 836. vi. p. 403. Consil. ii. 306—308.

[3] Vol. i. 435-6. [4] Melch. Ad. in Majore, i. 224.

[5] Consil. ii. 255, 289, 306—308, 367.

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the application of the reproachful names of *Philippists* and *Majorists*, intended to describe those who were suspected of tampering with the doctrine of justification, "and of making good works, combined with faith, to merit the remission of sins, and to be the cause of our justification before God," could not be shaken off. Had reasonable men been the persons to be dealt with, one might have supposed, that by a very temperate use of definition this controversy, which harassed the church for several years, might have been brought to a speedy and satisfactory termination. Neither party intended, that either our justification, or our ultimate salvation, is any other than a free gift, conferred by the divine mercy, for Christ's sake alone, and simply in consequence of our being united with him by faith:[1] but the one as well as the other ought surely to have admitted unequivocally, that it was *necessary* "that he who had believed in God should be careful to maintain good works," and that the professed believer, who did not do this, proved his faith to be dead and his confidence a delusion: and, when these two points were accorded, what subject of dispute could remain?

In another contention into which Flacius fell with Strigelius, a brother professor at Jena, he is said to have gone the extravagant length of maintaining, "that original sin is the very

[1] Major expressly said in explanation, "that he had never taught, never imagined, what was imputed to him; that he had always referred the whole of our justification and salvation entirely to the divine mercy, and the merit of our Saviour Jesus Christ, received by faith only—which faith would be followed by good works as its never-failing fruits." Melch. Adam.

substance of human nature," and to have persisted in this strange position to his dying day.[1] But this was at a period posterior to the present limits of our history. A. D. 1555.

Stancari's dogma concerning Christ's mediation.

We shall here notice only one more of these harassing controversies. This was raised by Francesco Stancari, a native of Mantua, but a professor in the university of Königsberg, who, being compelled to quit his situation in consequence of his opposition to the dogma of Osiander, retired to Francfort on the Oder. He is described as a man of a turbulent spirit; and he fell into the error of supposing that he had somewhat of importance to teach the church, in maintaining that the mediatorial office of our Saviour was discharged exclusively in his human nature. Here again we shall content ourselves with transcribing two short sentences from Melancthon. "I hesitate not," he says, "to pronounce Stancari's notion an error: for to the Mediator it belongs not only to die, but that his death should be an equivalent ransom for men; and that he should be the conqueror of death. Also that he should be a priest entering into the holiest of all—into the secret council of the Most High. Yea, moreover, that he should sanctify the hearts of men by giving to them his Holy Spirit. But these things belong to the divine nature." Again: "When I recite to myself the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Come unto me, all ye that labour, and I will give you rest*, I understand him to be Mediator alike in the divine and the human nature. He gives rest, not only because he suffers, but because he crushes the serpent's head. He conquers while he suffers. And

[1] Mosheim, iv. 43. Flacius died in 1575.

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such is the voice of all antiquity. As the obedience of our Mediator is an equivalent ransom for us, the Mediator is God, and not man only. Such is the purport of that passage, *He emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, &c.* Phil. ii."[1]

Reflections on these controversies.

All these scenes of fierce controversy, so soon rising in the reformed churches, present, no doubt, a mournful spectacle. They wofully display the tendencies of human nature, and the art and malice of the great enemy of divine truth and human happiness. Defects may probably be pointed out, through which the Lutheran church failed of opposing the proper checks to a rising spirit of contention and insubordination:[2] yet even these defects, with all their consequences, afford not that matter of triumph to the Romanist, which he affects to find in them. It is better to have some disorder than the stillness of universal death. Besides, no such unity as he boasts has existed in his own church: as our notice of the council of Trent will abundantly demonstrate.—But the narrative before us affords most important and seasonable warning to ourselves. Fierce contentions have too frequently followed close upon remarkable revivals of religion, and have deformed their character, and arrested their progress. These contentions have in great part arisen from well-intentioned and zealous men pushing things to extremes, being too impatient to pause for the purpose of defining and explaining, and thus drowning the voice

[1] Melch. Ad. i. 1.3. Melanc. Epist. ii. 260, to George of Anhalt. Consil. ii. 269, 270. M'Cries's Ref. in Italy, 340, 370.

[2] Rose on the state of the Protestant Churches on the Continent.

of truth amid the din of loûd assertion and impetuous dispute. But that which was violent and extreme could never continue long: it is not in the nature of things that it should do so. With the temperate, and the calm, and the moderate—provided only that they do not compromise substantial truth—is wisdom: and with them also is endurance; while that which carries things beyond all due bounds soon passes away; nay, very commonly it opens the way for that which is in the contrary extreme to succeed it. The overstrained discipline of the Novatians, refusing to restore the lapsed, and insisting on rebaptizing those who had received the initiatory sacrament from the hands of heretics, was soon generally condemned, and disappeared. The high presbyterianism, which insisted that its form of church government in all its parts, with all the rules for the conduct of public worship, was to be found in scripture, and that not the minutest observance was to be admitted which was not prescribed there, has long since given way before the more temperate doctrine for which Hooker contended. The fierce opposition which was once made to surplices and bands and gowns is now lamented by all parties, and some of these vestments adopted even by the successors of those who led that opposition. And where has *ultra*-Calvinism ever long maintained its ground? In short every thing ultra—every thing pushed to an extreme is studiously to be avoided, if we would durably promote the true interests of the church of Christ. This is a lesson which may much need be regarded in our day. True religion has been extensively revived: the genuine doctrines of the reformation, which are those of

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the gospel itself, have spread to an extent hardly ever before known among us: we are to guard, no doubt, against those who would tamper with them, and dilute them, and frustrate their efficacy by worldly associations and a worldly spirit: but we are no less to guard against those who would push them to an extreme; who would overstate and overstrain them; who would vitiate them by unscriptural inferences, and lay them open to antinomian abuse by crude and unwarranted statements; or who disgrace them by violence of spirit, and a contemptuous treatment of such as cannot go *their* lengths.[1] By such proceedings the seeds of decay were sown in the Lutheran church at a very early period: and, as Romish superstition has generated infidelity, so it is to be apprehended that the refinements and the contentions, which followed the death of Luther, might do much towards gradually preparing the way for the neology and the other abominations of modern German protestantism.[2] "Be not high-minded, but fear. Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

[1] Of the spirit of some German protestants of Melancthon's time we may judge from their calling the English martyrs under the Marian persecution, "the devil's martyrs," and proposing to expel the French and English refugees on account of their differences from them. Mel. Epist. iv. 893. Consil. ii. 251—253.

[2] In the fancies of Caspar Schwenckfeldt, apparently a pious, but weak and enthusiastic man, who caused some trouble to the reformers, we may perhaps trace somewhat of the *mysticism* which infests protestant Germany; while Thammerus, of whom Melancthon asserts, that he "transformed the gospel into heathenish allegories," may have afforded an early specimen of modern German infidelity. See Mel. Consil. ii. 303. Mosheim iv. 30—32. Melch. Ad. i. 64, 73, 162, 231.

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We shall now conclude this chapter, and the regular course of this part of our history, with a brief notice of some of the more eminent promoters of the reformation, in connexion with the Lutheran church, who closed their earthly career within a few years of the period which has passed under our review.

Notices of Lutheran Reformers.

Spalatinus.

Luther's early and faithful friend Spalatinus, chaplain to the elector of Saxony, died in January 1545, a year before the reformer, at the age of sixty-three. He appears to have continued to the last subject to that depression of spirits, and dejection in his work, against which Luther in so edifying a manner encouraged and admonished him.[1] But by these admonitions he was kept in his post, and in the discharge of his duties to the end of his life.[2]

F. Myconius.

The death of Frederic Myconius, for twenty-two years pastor and superintendant of Saxe-Gotha, about six weeks after that of Luther, has been already noticed.[3] He died at the age of fifty-five.

Hesse.

John Hesse, the excellent pastor of Breslaw,[4] died the next year, 1547, aged sixty, and was succeeded by Aurifaber. His colleague Ambrose Moiban survived him seven years.[5]

Moiban.

Cruciger.

Of Caspar Cruciger we may give a somewhat more detailed account. He was a native of Leipsic, and studied at Wittemberg. He afterwards presided for some years over the school at Magdeburg. In 1527 he was called to Wittemberg, to fill the offices of a preacher in one of the churches, and a lecturer in the university; and he continued there the remainder of his life—being rector of the

[1] Milner iv. 615, &c. (App. 62.) [2] Melch. Ad. i. 46, 47.
[3] Vol. i. 483. Milner v. 567. (App. 6.)
[4] Milner v. 145. (723.) [5] Melch. Ad. i. 90, 124.

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university from the year 1546 to 1548. Having great skill in the Hebrew language, he assisted Luther in his translation of the scriptures. We have already seen[1] in what high estimation he was held by that reformer: and after Luther's death Melancthon had scarcely a more valued adviser and coadjutor. Joachim Camerarius, who had been his fellow student under George Heltus,[2] preceptor to George prince of Anhalt, (when Richard Crock, an Englishman, was their instructor in Greek,) speaks in terms of the highest admiration of his learning, prudence, piety, and amiable manners. His learning was almost universal; and he was particularly distinguished for the rapidity of his penmanship. When he acted as secretary at the conference of Worms, in the year 1540, Granvelle, the emperor's minister, remarked of him, "The Lutherans have a scribe who possesses more learning than all the men of the opposite party." He greatly delighted in the study of nature, and in tracing God in his works. He died in 1548, at the age of only forty-five years—worn down with studies, labours, and anxious cares for the church. "He departed out of life," says Camerarius,[3] with ardent prayers for himself, and all who in common with him were in jeopardy for religion's sake, and committing his soul to the hands of Jesus Christ, whom he had devoutly worshipped, and in all his studies faithfully served." Melchior Adam is somewhat more particular. "He lay," says this collector, "three months without hope of recovery, displaying unfailing faith, patience, and piety. Not even then did he intermit his studies, but

[1] Vol. i. 256. [2] Ib. 388. [3] Vit. Melanc. § 87.

filled up his time with useful employments, to the utmost that his strength would bear. In the morning he had his little daughters called to him, and heard them repeat their prayers, intermingling with them his own sighs, tears, and supplications, for the church of Christ, for himself, and for his children. 'O Lord,' he prayed, 'pardon my sins, for the sake of Jesus Christ thy Son, who was crucified for us, and raised from the dead: sanctify me by thy Holy Spirit: preserve in these countries the remnant of thy church, and suffer not the light of thy gospel to be extinguished. Make these my orphans vessels of mercy! I call upon thee in faith, though it be weak and languid. O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of God, I believe thy promise, which thou hast sealed with thy death and resurrection. Assist me: raise and cheer my heart with faith!' He frequently, on these occasions, repeated words to this effect; and afterwards, having pressed upon his children some pious instructions, he dismissed them. He then applied himself to various studies, mathematical and philological, as well as theological. Among other things, during his illness he completed a translation of Luther's commentary on the last words of David. He discoursed also largely with his friends on various interesting topics. At length, with a peaceful mind, and in the midst of his prayers, he slept in the Lord, November 16, 1548, and was honourably buried in the church at Wittemberg." [1] A. D. 1555.

Such accounts are deeply interesting. It is most edifying thus to learn how to die, from men whose example has taught us how we ought to live.

[1] Melch. Ad. i. 93–96.

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Melancthon, in his epistles, has some further notices of this excellent man. "Cruciger," he says, "is daily sinking more and more: yet his mind is strong, and he still pursues his studies. Sometimes he gets abroad and gazes upon the heavens; and then he seems to return refreshed to hold communion with the Son of God, and to commend us and all our pursuits to the divine blessing in the most earnest prayers." And again, some time after his decease: "Our dear friend Cruciger used often before his death to repeat the words, *Lord I believe, help thou mine unbelief!* and he added, 'I know that it is thy pleasure to be called upon in the exercise of this faith, though it is feeble; and I am assured that such prayer shall not be in vain.'"[1]

Vitus Theodorus. 1549.

The next year died Vitus Theodorus, or Theodore Veit, who has been noticed as one of Luther's companions at Coburg,[2] at the period of the diet of Augsburg. He was a native of Nuremberg, and exercised his ministry in that city with great acceptance, for many years previous to his death. He was there much annoyed by the public insults of Osiander: but, by Melancthon's advice, he was "as a deaf man that heard them not;" and thus they failed of their effect.[3]

Spangenberg.

John Spangenberg, the pious superintendant of Mansfeld, who has before come under our notice,[4] died in the year 1550, at the age of sixty-six.[5]

[1] Epist. iv. 749, 783, 877. [2] Vol. i. 177.

[3] Melch. Ad. i. 96. Camer. Vit. Mel. § 74. From Dr. M'Crie's mention of him, (Ref. in Italy, 91,) as "sent from Venice to Wittemberg," by James Ziegler, who treated him as an "adopted brother," it might be concluded that he was a native of Italy. But such was not the case.

[4] Vol. i. 473, 509. [5] Melch. Ad. 97.

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Bucer and Paul Fagius had removed from Strasburg into England, on the invitation of archbishop Cranmer, in consequence of the dangers incurred by their opposition to the Interim; and they died there, the latter in November 1550, the former in February 1551. Their services in this country may hereafter engage our attention. Bucer was in his sixty-first year; Fagius only in his forty-fifth.[1]

Bucer and Fagius. 1549.

The death of Bucer was the next year followed by that of Caspar Hedio, who had long been his fellow labourer at Strasburg,[2] and of Herman Tast the reformer of Holstein.[3]

Hedio. 1552.

Tast.

The year 1553 removed prince George of Anhalt, and James Sturmius of Strasburg. Of the former a particular account was given in the preceding volume: the latter, as a layman, taking a leading part in public affairs, rendered great service to the cause of the reformation. He filled the office of senator, and repeatedly that of mayor, in his native city, and was deputed, it is said, as its representative in diets of the empire and on other embassies, not less than ninety times; on all which occasions he displayed such firmness, wisdom, and eloquence, that he gained the highest reputation and influence. He was one of those who first acquired the name of *protestants*, at Spires in 1529: he acted a prominent part in the diet of Augsburg, in the year following: and in 1532 he came as ambassador into England, on important business. It was by his influence that the public school at Strasburg was founded, over which his brother John Sturmius[4] presided; and that stipends were appointed to encourage men of learning to settle in the city.

George of Anhalt. Ja. Sturmius.

1538.

[1] Melch. Ad 99, 102. [2] Milner v. 96. (671.)
[3] Ib. 132. (708.) Gerdes, ii. 71, 185. [4] Vol. i. 191.

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He was deputed again to the emperor, on embassies for the preservation of peace and the protestant religion, at Ratisbon in 1541, Spires 1544, and Worms 1545: and it was chiefly under his guidance that his citizens made the firm and honourable stand which has been related, when the Interim was established, in 1548. To him also we may be said to owe the valuable history of Sleidan, as he prompted the author to undertake that work, and gave him access to many of the original documents necessary to its execution. He was held in high estimation by Melancthon, who consulted with him on all affairs of importance. He died October 30, 1553, at the age of sixty-four years.[1]

Just. Jonas.

The next person whose death is to be noticed, is Justus Jonas, who had been the fellow labourer of Luther, from an early period. We have seen that he removed from Wittemberg to Halle in Saxony, in 1541, and thence, in consequence of the Smalkaldic war, (in which he attached himself to the sons of John Frederic,) into the dutchy of Coburg;[2] where he was made rector of Eisfeldt, and superintendant of the churches of the dutchy. He died there in 1555, aged sixty-three years. On his death-bed, this excellent man is said to have suffered great mental depression, but to have been roused from it by the consolations, not unmingled with reproofs, suggested by his own servant.[3]

Frecht and Forster.

Martin Frechtius, one of those ministers whom the emperor had led away in chains from Ulm, for his opposition to the Interim,[4] and John Forster of Wittemberg, a skilful

[1] Melch. Ad. iii. 42—44. Camer. Vit. Mel. § 97.
[2] Vol. i. 303. [3] Melch. Ad. i. 126. [4] Above, p. 31.

Hebraist, who had rendered valuable assistance to Luther in his expositions of scripture, died in 1556. The former, on recovering his liberty, had settled at Tubingen, under the duke of Würtemberg.[1] A. D. 1555.

The distinguished chancellor of Saxony, Gregory Pontanus,[2] died at Jena, in 1557, having settled there under the sons of the late elector. Pontanus.

Bugenhagius Pomeranus, Justus Menius, and Erhard Snepfius were all removed the year following. The first of these excellent men was for thirty-six years pastor at Wittemberg: and how useful his labours were in various other places, to which he was deputed for the purpose of organizing reformation, has abundantly appeared in the course of our history. He seems never to have quitted Wittemberg on account of the war, not even at the time of the siege; though he was deeply affected with the events which took place, particularly the captivity of the good elector. He supported his mind by constant devotion, and assured himself "that the ark of the church would be safe amid all storms." He mourned over the changes and the controversies which followed: but he himself altered nothing either in rites or in doctrines. The closing scenes of his life were, through the goodness of God, calm and peaceful. During the last year of his life, when he had grown too weak to preach, he daily frequented the house of God, and there commended both himself and the church to the divine mercy; taking part also in the consultations held for the good of the church. He often conversed delightfully with his friends on Bugenhagius. 1558.

[1] Melch. Ad. i. 145, 146. [2] Vol. i 533.

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the blessed hope of eternal life, and on the prospects opening to posterity. After offering up fervent prayers, and frequently repeating the words, "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent," he slept in peace, April 20, 1558, in the seventy-third year of his age.[1]

Menius.

Justus Menius had for many years laboured successfully at Saxe-Gotha: but the year before his death he sought, at Leipsic, some retreat from the contests raised by Flacius.[2]

Snepfius.

Snepfius[3] was of a good family at Hailbrun, and was by a pious mother devoted to the service of God and religion, from his infancy. He at first, however, applied himself to jurisprudence, and with those flattering prospects of success which a profession, immediately conversant with property and men's temporal interests, never fails to hold out to talents and industry; but he was prevailed upon by the intreaties of his mother to turn his back upon the splendid visions of earthly riches and honours, and to fulfil her original wishes respecting him. After he began to apply to theology, he continued for six years involved in the labyrinths of papal error; but at length he arrived at the knowledge of the truth, by means of the light which Luther had been the instrument of diffusing. This was soon after the year 1520. After labouring usefully at some other places, he was called to the office of a preacher at Marpurg, and a professor in the university which the landgrave of Hesse had founded there. In that situation he acquired great weight and influence: but he

[1] Melch. Ad. i. 150—154. His death was felt as a great loss by Melancthon. Camer. Vit. Mel. § 109.

[2] Melch. Ad. i. 154.

[3] Vol. i. 7, 177.

was at length induced to exchange it for the important post of pastor of Stutgard, under Ulric of Würtemberg, in 1535. In 1543, he removed to Tubingen, under the same prince, and continued there till driven away, to the great grief of the citizens, by the means taken to enforce the Interim. He was then made rector of the new university of Jena, by the sons of John Frederic; and filled his office with honour till his death, in the sixty-third year of his age, November 1, 1558.—He had attended most of the diets and conferences held on the subject of religion; and, in particular, had been Bucer's coadjutor in his disputations with Malvenda, at Ratisbon, in 1546.[1] A. D. 1555.

The death of Melancthon himself, as we shall see, took place in 1560.

Joachim Morlin, first driven from Prussia for his opposition to Osiander,[2] but afterwards recalled and made a bishop there; John Aurifaber[3] late of Breslaw, but now of Jena; Paul Eber,[4] successor to Forster in the citadel church, and afterwards to Justus Jonas as chief pastor of Wittemberg; John Brentius formerly of Halle in Suabia, but latterly of Stutgard; John Pfeffinger of Leipsic; and George Major of Wittemberg[5] survived to a later period, and died between the years 1566 and 1574. Some account of each of them is given by Melchior Adam. The persecutions which Brentius suffered on account of the Interim have been already noticed. His history furnishes a warning to students, he having contracted a distressing and injurious habit of sleeplessness, which continued to the end of his days, by Morlin. Aurifaber. Pfeffinger. Brentius.

[1] Melch. Ad. i. 154—156.
[2] Above, p. 115.
[3] Vol. i. 477, 563.
[4] Vol i. 485.
[5] Ib. 435. 436.

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accustoming himself to rise soon after midnight to pursue his studies.—Eber excites our sympathy, by having been crippled in early youth by a fall, the circumstances of which were concealed from his parents, and the opportunity thus lost of using means which might have prevented or alleviated its consequences. He lived, however, to become not only a very excellent, but an eminent and highly useful character.—For Major a painful interest is excited by his heavy domestic afflictions; which he bore with Christian constancy and resignation.

Eber.

Major.

Conclusion.

The notice of these excellent and eminent men, (for none but eminent men have been recounted,) however brief it may have been, cannot but be gratifying, if it were only for their number—which shews how remarkably God had at that period visited his church, and replenished it with able faithful pastors and reformers. The only circumstances which excite our regret are, finding so great a number of such men removed in the course of twenty years, and so many of them in the very midst of their days and their usefulness. The latter of these circumstances, in particular, impresses upon us the necessity of "working while it is day," seeing the night so soon cometh, "wherein no man can work." But the Son of God "holdeth the stars—the angels of the churches—in his right hand," and disposeth of them as seemeth him good.—We cannot however but feel and lament, that the succession of men coming up in the Lutheran church were deteriorating, and attained not the level of their predecessors in simplicity and devotedness. Many of them were turning aside to vain jangling. We shall therefore gladly withdraw our attention from

scenes of growing secularity and contention, to fix it again on those earlier stages of a reformed church, which we may hope to find marked with greater spirituality. One or two other subjects must however detain us somewhat longer, in winding up this account of the Lutheran reformation, before we turn to that effected in other quarters by the agency of Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and Calvin.

A. D. 1555.

CHAPTER XII.

REMAINDER OF MELANCTHON'S LIFE—HIS LETTERS—HIS COMMON PLACES.

Remaining transactions of Melancthon.

THE character and services of Melancthon, his intimate connexion with the reformation during the whole of its progress, and the leading station which he occupied ever after the death of Luther, all peculiarly intitle him to our high regard, and render it proper that we should not quit this portion of our history, without attending him to the close of his course—though it somewhat outran the limit which we have otherwise assigned ourselves. Some further notice also of certain parts of his writings will be found interesting and instructive.

Melancthon survived the peace of religion five years, which were laboriously employed, as the preceding thirty-seven had been, in the service of sound learning and divine truth. He continued to the last involved in those controversies, which we have noticed as dividing and deforming the Lutheran church after the death of its founder: but our notice of his writings in that department has been already so far extended into these last years of his life, that we shall have little occasion to trouble the reader further respecting them. In this his closing stage we find him, from the change of circumstances produced by the peace now established, less engaged than formerly in pub-

lic negotiations in the cause of religion. Still however he was not without employment of that kind. In 1555 he went to Nuremberg, accompanied by Ales and Camerarius, for the purpose of endeavouring to settle the divisions which had been occasioned in that city by the dogmas of Osiander; and his exertions were crowned with success. He comprised in a clear and pacific paper, in which no censure was passed upon any individual, the doctrines to be approved or disapproved on the points at issue; and this paper he submitted to the clergy of the place, begging them freely to canvass it, that they might, if possible, come to agreement upon it, and then, "by common consent, exhibit an instance of that unanimity which the Son of God had so ardently prayed for on behalf of his church." The proceeding had the happiest issue, in the restoration of peace among the pastors and religious communities of that city.[1]

A. D. 1556.

His Visit to Nuremberg 1555.

In the year 1557 the vain attempt was once more renewed, by a public conference held at Worms, under the presidency of Julius Pflug, to reconcile the existing religious differences of the protestants and Roman catholics; and Melancthon was deputed to the meeting by Augustus elector of Saxony. But the conference was soon terminated by the Romanists first demanding, as a measure preliminary to the discussion of any form of concord, that all Zuinglians, Osiandrists, and Flacians should be condemned by name; and the deputies from the princes of Saxe-Weimar (the sons of John Frederic) requiring that all adiaphorists, synergists, Majorists, and others of a like descrip-

Conference of Worms. 1557.

[1] Camer. Vit. Mel. § 103. Melanc. Concil. ii. 208—216. Mel. Epist. ii. 61.

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tion, should be included with the Zuinglians in this condemnation. It was probably the design of the papists by their proposal to divide the protestants; an object in which the deputies from Weimar, who were favourable to Flacius, unwittingly seconded them. Hence no point appears to have come under discussion in this conference, beyond the great principle of the rule of judgment—which Melancthon and his friends maintained to be the scriptures alone.[1]

Death of his wife.

In an interval of this conference, while a deputation was sent to king Ferdinand to learn his pleasure concerning the course of procedure, Melancthon accepted an invitation from Otto Henry elector Palatine, to visit Heidelberg, in order to arrange with James Micyllus a plan for the conduct of the university now established there. While at this place, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his wife, with whom he had lived in harmony and happiness for thirty-seven years. His friend Camerarius came over to Heidelberg to communicate the painful tidings to him; which he did while they were together in the elector's gardens. The good man, as one wearied with the struggles of life, and anticipating his own departure, though much affected at the intelligence, made scarcely any other remark at the time than this, "I shall soon follow her.[2]"

1558.

The next year, he again maintained the protestant cause against Staphylus and Avius, the former of whom was an apostate from Lutheranism—once the pupil and disciple, and after-

[1] Cam. Vit. Mel. § 106, 108. Mel. Consil. ii. 286—316. Cox's Life of Melanc. p. 523, 2nd edit.

[2] Cam. Vit. Mel. § 107.

wards the malignant enemy of Melancthon.[1]— Besides his writings,—which, we are told, were chiefly the product of early morning hours[2]— Melancthon still persevered in his indefatigable labours as a professor in the university; in which character he had been accustomed to deliver two, and often three, or even four lectures in the day. His last lecture, in which he explained part of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, was given April 12, 1560. He had been previously at Leipsic, attending an annual examination of the students in the university of that place, and had taken cold on his return. Intermitting fever now came on. He still however continued to write; and he wished again to lecture on the fourteenth of April, but was prevented by his friend Camerarius, who had come from Leipsic to visit him, on account of his illness. With him he discoursed on the words of the apostle, "Having a desire to depart, and be with Christ, which is far better." On the eighteenth day of the month he attempted to write out his will afresh, but was unable to finish it. In what he did put down, however, he observed, that "he wished to have what he had written in opposition to the papists, anabaptists, Flacians, and others in his reply to the Bavarian Articles,[3] considered as the confession of his faith." The next day, about six o'clock in the evening he expired in peace, offering up prayers and expressing kind wishes for all about him. He was sixty-three years of age, during forty-two of which he had been connected with the university of Wittemberg. On the twenty-first of April his remains were ho-

A. D. 1558.

His last illness,

and death. 1560.

[1] Cam. Vit. Mel. § 40 and 108. Mel. Consil. ii. 328—345.
[2] Melch. Ad. iv. 93. [3] See the close of this chapter.

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nourably interred, near to those of his illustrious friend Luther, in the church of the citadel.[1]

A short time before his death, he wrote, in parallel columns, a fragment of reasons why we ought not to be unwilling to die. They are apparently addressed to himself.

"On the one hand—	"On the other hand—
You shall depart from your sins.	You shall come into the light.
	You shall see God.
You shall be released from troubles, and from the fierce contentions of polemics.	You shall behold the Son of God.
	You shall learn those hidden mysteries which you could not in this life comprehend—Why we are in our present condition—What is the union of the two natures in the person of Christ."[2]

We add the following particulars from a second life of him inserted by Melchior Adam in his biography of philosophers, in addition to that which he had given in his biography of divines.

"He frequently in his latter years, and particularly in the last months of his life, bewailed with many tears the discords of the reformed churches, and implored in ardent prayers that God would heal these divisions. This subject seemed to be perpetually in his heart and on his tongue.—When his friend and physician Winsheim visited him, and expressed his fears, that with his feeble and reduced frame he would ill sustain the attacks of his disease, he replied,

[1] Cam. Vit. Mel. § 113. Melch. Ad. i. 169.
[2] Consil. ii. 396.

with a smile, 'I desire to depart, and to be with Christ.'—To Peucer, his son-in law, he said the day before his death: 'My illness does not disturb me: I have no anxiety or matter of care but one—that the churches may be at peace in Christ Jesus.'—He frequently before his death repeated the Saviour's prayer, *That they may be one in us, as we also are one*;—and frequently this sentence of S. Paul, *Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.*—A little time before he expired, Eber, chief pastor of Wittemberg, reciting to him the words, *As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God;* he raised his hands and eyes, and said, 'That sentence is ever in my thoughts!'—His son-in-law having asked if he wished for any thing, he said, 'Nothing but heaven,' and begged that he might not be interrupted.—At the close, as long as he could articulate, he repeated the words, 'O God, compassionate me through thy Son Jesus Christ!' and again, 'In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded!'—His faculties were clear to the last, and his decease literally resembled a falling asleep."[1] A. D. 1560.

Thus lived, thus taught, and thus died the man of whom Bossuet, in concluding the notice which he thinks proper to take of him, can find nothing better, nor any thing more correct to say, than what is contained in the following sentence: "He was respected, as appeared, by the church of Wittemberg, but the grievous

[1] Melch. Ad. iv. 94. Dr. Cox has given from the "Brevis Narratio" of the professors of Wittemberg, published at the time, a more detailed account of Melancthon's closing scene: and a very delightful account it certainly is. Life of Melanc. xiii.

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restraints he lay under, and the measures he was forced to follow, prevented his speaking all he thought; and in this state he ended his miserable life, in 1560."[1]

His character.

Melancthon is a character with whom it is impossible to become conversant without being in danger of contracting even an excessive partiality for him. I have felt that I was exposed to this bias in writing of him: and I am aware that I have made a more favourable representation of his course, and of the ground that he occupied after the death of Luther, than is generally received: but I desire to have my statements admitted no further than they are drawn from authentic sources. I have endeavoured to trace, not from the fallacious reports of others concerning him, but from his own papers, what part he actually took in the controversies respecting the Interim, and the adiaphoristic points—which I cannot but feel confident has not been done by many who have censured him: and thus I trust I have satisfactorily vindicated him from numerous charges of pusillanimity, and unworthy concession and compromise; and have shewn that, in some of the most important cases, he was even heroically firm, where the very contrary has been imputed to him. I cannot but suppose that many, who have given currency to disadvantageous accounts of his conduct, have not had recourse to his own writings, or perhaps to other original documents: they rather seem, having heard the charges of his opponents, and considered his reputed character, to have inferred how it was *likely* that a man of his temper should act, than to have inquired how

[1] Hist. des Variat. I. viii. 41.

he really *did* act. Thus to apportion praise or blame upon speculative grounds, and not upon an actual examination of facts, it is to be feared, is not uncommon even with historians of reputation.—My impression is, that the fault of Melancthon's character was not, as it is commonly supposed to have been, timidity, at least in the sense of a hesitation to avow his sentiments, or a dread of personal danger—for many facts demonstrate his bold disregard even of life itself in the cause which he had undertaken; but rather a morbid fear of deciding amiss; a fastidiousness which could never satisfy itself; together with such an excessive, and, considering in whose hands the direction of affairs of the church is really placed, such a superfluous anxiety for its peace and unity, as sometimes endangered his making undue sacrifices for this all but invaluable object.[1] Yet, if any imagine that it was at all a part of his plan to compromise disputed points by the use of ambiguous terms, which each party might construe in its own favour, I can only observe, that there is no practice against which he more frequently and more strongly protests. He was fully aware, that what is thus unsoundly healed breaks out afresh with aggravated virulence. His constant maxim was, "Ambiguous terms only generate new controversies."[2]

A. D. 1560.

His alleged timidity.

1 "*First* pure, *then* peaceable."

2 When I wrote these observations on the alleged *timidity* of Melancthon, I was not aware what Dr. Cox had remarked on the same subject; as I purposely avoided consulting his book in this part of my work, till I had formed my own conclusions. He says: "Historians have applied" this term to Melancthon "with great incaution." "The hesitation of Melancthon in deciding upon new subjects, or in difficult cases.... resulted not so much from timidity, as from conscientious scruples of mind. It was not that he feared tem-

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On the whole, after reading nearly two thousand of his letters, and numerous others of his papers and writings, I confess that I cannot but regard him as one of the loveliest specimens

poral, but moral consequences." Again: "Those who are solicitous of forming a correct idea of him will rather deem it slanderous than descriptive, to call him the timid Melancthon." And subsequently, after quoting from his writings, he exclaims, "These are the words of the *wavering* and the *timid* Melancthon!" Life of Mel. pp. 216—218, 256, 459. 2d edit.—Luther, it may be remembered, wrote thus to him at Augsburg: "In private conflicts, (if my conflicts with Satan are to be called private,) I am weak and you are strong. In public ones it is the very reverse. *You despise your life*, but tremble for our cause!" Above, vol. i. 68.

It is but fair to notice in this connexion, since a more convenient one either has not occurred, or has been overlooked, a letter of Melancthon's, written in April 1548, (before the establishment of the Interim,) to Christopher Carlevitz, who is styled "a counsellor of the emperor and of the elector of Saxony," in which the writer speaks more explicitly than I have any where else found him doing, of being held under restraint by his connexion with Luther; and goes far in his concessions for the sake of peace. Yet still, we shall find, he has his points to which he is determined firmly to adhere. "Whatever the prince (Maurice) may decree," he says, "though I may not approve it all, I will do nothing seditiously, but will either keep silence, or fall under it, (cadam,) or bear what may happen. Before the present time, I bore a degree of servitude which was humiliating, (servitutem pœne deformem,) when Luther, who was not a little prone to contention, frequently rather indulged his natural temper, than considered what became his character, or might conduce to the common good.... But, if you say that not only silence but countenance is required of me, I doubt not that you, as a man of wisdom, consider men's dispositions, and can discern their intentions. I am not by nature contentious, and, if *any* man loves to promote social union, I do. I did not excite the existing controversies: I found them [illegible], and began to consider them with a simple love of truth: and, though their first mover had mingled with them some things of too harsh a nature, (materias quasdam horridiores,) yet I could not on this account reject others which were true and necessary. The latter I embraced; and by degrees succeeded in either withdrawing or softening

of the grace of God, ever exhibited in our fallen nature. It is quite superfluous to speak of his talents, his learning, his taste—they are known and applauded by all. Luther thus broke forth respecting him when he came to Wittemberg a mere stripling—"Philip delivered an oration the fourth day after his arrival replete with learning and elegance, so as to captivate the esteem and admiration of all. We soon turned off our eyes and our thoughts from his stature and appearance, to admire the furniture of his mind." He immediately commenced courses of lectures on Homer, and on S. Paul's epistle to Titus, and then Luther was left at a loss for words to express his sentiments concerning him.[1] "He has a crowded audience," he says, "and he fires us all, from our first divines to

A. D. 1560.

what was extravagant."—He then describes the odium which he had by this means incurred; but "unmoved by it," he says, "I went on to explain the doctrines of the church as correctly as I could." He had succeeded in "cutting off many hurtful questions, avoiding some rocks on which there had been danger of running foul, preventing greater discords, and promoting the peace of the church." He was still anxious to do the same; and could not think, without the deepest pain and grief, of the church being now "disturbed, either by a change of doctrine, or by the expulsion of good and upright men" from their cures. He then states, according to what we have before seen, the concessions to which he could agree, including the ecclesiastical polity, the power of bishops, "and of the supreme bishop:" in doing which he says, "Perhaps I am of a servile nature, (ingenio servili,) but I think it a modesty becoming good men, not to weaken the authority of our governors....Such practices however, as you yourself have witnessed in the invocation of saints, I can never sanction.... But, if I seem to stand in the way, as a useless or pernicious incumbrance, I am willing, with the Divine aid, to add myself to the number of those who, in lighter causes than this, have valued truth above life." Ep. vi. p. 20—27.

[1] "Philippum Græcissimum, eruditissimum, humanissimum, habe commendatissimum."

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our humblest students, with zeal for the study of Greek." And again: "He is a mere child, if you consider his age, but his acquaintance with all kinds of learning is astonishing."[1] Erasmus also thus wrote concerning him as early as the year 1515: "What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon? Though yet very young and almost a boy, he is equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages. What quickness of invention—what purity of diction—what vastness of memory—what variety of reading—what modesty and noble gracefulness of behaviour!"—But that which peculiarly strikes me in reviewing his history is, that this most refined and gentle spirit passed more than forty years—the whole of his mature life—in almost incessant contention against corruptions and corrupters of divine truth of every description,—and that, without ever being either soured by dispute, or reduced to silence by weariness and disgust. Seldom does a sharp expression escape him, at least in any public writing, or in any address to an opponent: yet he was as assiduous, and as ready to take up his weapons to the last, as at any former period of his life. In the words of his son-in-law, Peucer, "Neither odium, danger, trouble, nor ungrateful returns induced him to throw off the burden of the service which God had assigned him, though he often complained that it was heavier than he could well bear."[2]

[1] Luth. Epist. Aurifabri, i. 59, 60.

[2] Præf. Melanc. Epist. lib. ii. Erasmus wrote of him to Julius Pflug at a much later period than that of the former extract: "He not only excels in learning, but by a certain fatality he is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him."

A. D. 1560.

In now taking leave of his character and history, I propose to furnish the reader with some additional extracts, chiefly from his epistles.[1] In reading over these generally simple and brief effusions, various excellent qualities of his temper and spirit must forcibly strike us: his heavenly-mindedness—his placability: his persevering diligence—his affection—his anxiety to serve his friends—his zeal for the church of Christ, and for divine truth,—as also for the promotion of education and the diffusion of knowledge—and his liberality. Most or all of these, as well as his opinions on several important topics, will receive illustration from the extracts which follow. We will arrange them under some distinct heads.

Further extracts from his letters.

I. On public affairs, and the peace of the church.

1. On the affairs of the church. Civil war. 1546.

On the approaching war of Smalkald, supposing the question asked, Would he approve it, and instigate his party to it? he wisely and piously answers, "that he would never be the instigator of civil war, even where the cause was just. Let us rather," he says, "deplore the common calamity: let us teach that the sins of both parties are the cause of it: let

[1] There appear to have been ten distinct volumes of Melancthon's epistles published: the first by Manlius, in 1565; the second and fourth by Peucer, in 1565 and 1570; the the third by Camerarius, in 1569, consisting of letters addressed to the editor; the fifth and sixth by Pezelius, in 1589 and 1590; the seventh, eighth, and ninth by Saubertus, in 1640, 1645, and 1646; and the tenth by Frederic Spanheim, though anonymously, in 1647. The folio edition, London, 1642, contains only the second, third, fourth, and sixth of these volumes. The fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, I have not seen. Neither his epistles nor his declamations, &c. (the latter amounting to five volumes octavo,) appear to have been comprehended in the edition of his works in four volumes folio, published at Wittemberg, 1562—1564.

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us exhort the people to implore Almighty God, with ardent supplication, to send a safe and religious peace: let us intreat those in power to employ their influence for this purpose. All this will be becoming and useful." Alluding to the pretence made by the emperor's party, that the war was not waged against their religion, he says: "God knows what is really their object. If they are guilty of falsehood in their professed intentions, it is no crime, however it may be a weakness, in us to believe them; and God will punish their deceit."[1]

Unity. 1550.

The opening of a letter to Paul Rhodius of Stettin, and the other Pomeranian pastors, in which he kindly pleads in behalf of Artopæus, who had been banished from among them for maintaining the dogma of Osiander, but had now softened down or altered his opinion, is striking. "Reverend and dear brethren, No more ardent voice was ever heard in heaven or in earth, than that of the Son of God, pleading, before he suffered, that the Eternal Father would sanctify his church through the truth, and make it one in Him. It is the prayer of the Son of God that the truth may be known, and peace preserved in his church: that there may ever be a portion, at least, of mankind by whom God may be rightly worshipped.—To this prayer of our great High Priest, the Son of God, we join our earnest supplications, that God would preserve truth and peace in your churches, and in our's.... The churches subsisting among you were oganized by Bugenhagius and myself: we have therefore a peculiar desire for their constant peace and purity, that they and we may at length give thanks

[1] Consil. i. 664-5.

together for ever in the blessed society of the heavenly world."[1] A. D. 1560.

1516.

A letter to Andrew Musculus, of Francfort on the Oder,[2] displays a fine spirit of frankness, moderation, and charity. On the recommendation of Melancthon, it seems, Musculus had received his doctor's degree: yet, having embraced certain ascetic, and it is to be feared self-righteous notions, he was now condemning the whole body of the Lutheran divines, for not inculcating fasting, to the extent of abstinence from food for two or three days together. On such grounds he ventured to affirm, "that among them men were not instructed in the doctrine of repentance." Nay, he even pronounced them, in certain respects, "worse than idolaters." Melancthon mildly combats the errors of Musculus; observes concerning his severe sentences, "To say the least, you pronounce too harshly;" yet still expresses his affection for him; and observes, "I think all teachers of religion who agree in their main doctrines, ought to be friends, though they may not express themselves in the same way in explaining particular points... I am not so bigoted and selfish that I can allow no one to differ from me."[3]

Articles of religion.

In two distinct letters to our Cranmer, in the year 1548, (in one of which he commends to his protection the son of Justus Jonas, and in the other the son of Justus Menius,) he highly approves the primate's purpose of drawing up articles of religion, and urges him to execute his design with all possible exactness, using the advice of the ablest men, who should in the

[1] Epist. i. 77.

[2] Not to be confounded with the well-known Wolfgang Musculus of Augsburg, afterwards of Berne.

[3] Consil. i. 653.

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end sanction what was agreed upon with their signatures. "Nothing," he says, "can be more important than a measure of this kind, which will produce a noble testimony to the true doctrine, in the sight of all nations, and hand it down to posterity as a rule which they may follow. Such a confession of faith, prepared among you, will not differ much from ours. There are a few points, however, on which I could wish it to be a little more explicit,[1] for fear that ambiguous expressions should give occasion to fresh disputes."—He then adverts to the proceedings of the emperor respecting the Interim: "He is forming a scheme for the termination of our controversies, which he may perhaps publish: but, as his plan is to unite the parties by the use of general terms, to which neither can object, [but which determine nothing,] he will only excite further contentions. At the same time, he will confirm existing abuses.—In the church we should by all means call things by their true names:[2] by any other means we only throw in the apple of discord among the guests. If among us unanimity had existed in our churches, we should not have been exposed to our present calamities.—By all means therefore pursue your intention. If you ask my opinion and concurrence, I will most readily both give my own sentiments, with the grounds of them, and listen to those of others—men of learning and piety. May truth and the glory of God, and the good of the church, and not any private affections, evermore prevail!"[3]

[1] Magis explicatos—"more fully to explain them." He does not specify these points.

[2] Scapham scapham—"a spade a spade."

[3] Epist. i. 66. iii. 42.

What he thus writes to Cranmer corresponds with the earnest wishes, which he elsewhere repeatedly expresses concerning the protestant churches at large. "Would to God that the state of the times were such, that a number of experienced and learned men might meet and consult together on the doctrines to be maintained!—men who should bring to the discussion, not mutual estrangements, not perverseness, not ignorance, not arrogance, not sophistry, not the vain desires of contention and victory; but the fear of God, learning, the love of truth, care to cherish and promote a spirit of prayer, modesty, candour, and kindness one towards another, a readiness to be convinced themselves, as well as a wish to convince others.[1] In such an assembly, while the Word and Son of the eternal Father ruled the hearts of all concerned, and the holy scriptures were made the rule of their decisions, something might be happily settled in the churches, both for the present age and for posterity."[2] A. D. 1560.

II. We will next give some extracts illustrative of his temper in private life, and his sentiments respecting its several relations. 2. On private life.

Let not those which he expresses concerning marriage and the female sex be thought unworthy of a place here. Thus he writes to a friend who had just formed this union.—"Stigelius[3] calls the married state 'a divinely appointed school of human life.' The truth and importance of this representation might furnish the theme of a long discourse. The establishment of such an order of things, and the necessity of adhering to it for the well-being Marriage.

[1] Τὰ μὲν πείθειν, τὰ δὲ πείθεσθαι. [2] Consil. ii. 208.
[3] A professor at Jena, and an elegant Latin poet.

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of society, attest the government of God, and illustrate his character. The preservation of human society demonstrates the presence of God with us: and those who live holily in wedlock find the proofs of that presence on many trying occasions. This state brings with it the exercise of numerous virtues. That you have determined therefore to comply with this divine appointment is a thing pleasing to God: and I pray him to bestow upon you and your wife all happiness in your union."—To another he expresses himself still more strongly: "I commend your choosing this state of life, and wish you every blessing in it. Married life appears to me a sort of philosophical discipline, training persons to honourable duties, worthy of the good and wise. Few unmarried people are affected as they ought to be towards the public good, and perceive what are really the most important objects in life."[1]

He is much pleased with Pythagoras's remark on the husband's receiving his bride from the altar, as if to remind him, that, like a suppliant who had taken refuge there, she had a religious claim to his protection, and that the Deity would avenge his infringement of his duties to her. Then, glancing at an union of which that of marriage is the scriptural emblem, he says—"And such, most strictly, is the character under which the church is led to her husband Christ, as a suppliant" whom he receives into the honourable relation of his spouse.—"Our daughters also," he affectionately and piously remarks, "will be (like suppliants at the altar,) the objects of divine care and protection. *The generation of the righteous shall be blessed.*

[1] Epist. ii. 403, 607.

'Good awaits the children of the pious, of which others have no assurance.'"[1]—At this very time, as we shall see, he had painful occasion to recur to such consolations. A. D. 1560. 1547.

Again: "I am quite indignant at those misanthropic beings who think it a proof of wisdom to despise the female sex. Grant that they have their weaknesses: we also have our faults.... If we have superior force, let us shew it in protecting, not in insulting them. Though many unfeeling spirits may neglect such duties, God shews in his providence a peculiar care of the feebler part of the species. Birds build their nests for their mates and their young: and in like manner cities are fortified, and the labour of governing and defending them is undertaken, for the sake of women and children, rather than of men. As often then as you look upon a house or a city, reflect that both of them were erected for the mothers of our children. And, if God in his providence has made such provision for your wife, (now in her confinement,) that governments, magistrates, workmen, houses, cities, castles are all subservient to her benefit, do not think it burdensome to bear your part of the common duty, by attending assiduously upon her.—Finally, since marriage presents an image of the love of the Son of God to his church, let the calls made upon you in domestic life remind you, that he has the same care for the church under all her weaknesses, which you now feel for your wife.—For my part I have often thought of composing *a history of heroic women*—women who have endured great afflictions with piety and firmness. The trials of my

[1] Ευσεβέων παίδεσσι τὰ λῷια, δισσεβέων δ' ὄυ, is a verse in which he much delights.—Epist. vi. p. 130-1

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own family have suggested this to me: for the temper of mind manifested by my dear daughter has been the great alleviation of the bitter grief occasioned me by her calamity. She has ever exhorted me to bear it with greater fortitude; for that it was her determination to submit to the will of God in all that he might see good to lay upon her.—May he succour both her, and you, and us all against our adversary the devil, and apply a healing balm to the poisonous bites of the old serpent."[1]

Parents and Children.

He often speaks beautifully, and with evident delight, of the affection of parents to their children; considering it as purposely calculated to give us an idea of the regard which God—"the Father of spirits"—bears to us. Thus he writes to one friend, "I doubt not that God will preserve the remnant of his church in these countries: and in that hope you may indulge more heart-felt joy in the birth of your son. I rejoice at the event for your father's sake—and your father-in-law's sake—and your own sake; and that you may all, while you kiss the dear infant with parental tenderness, think of the love (στοργῆ) which God bears towards us." And to another: "Withdraw your mind as much as possible from painful subjects of reflection, and refresh yourself with the sweets of domestic society: and, when you feel such affection to your children, think that God has impressed this upon us as an image of his own mind towards us."[2]

Much wisdom, as well as tenderness and piety, seems to be displayed in a letter which he wrote to Jerome Camerarius,[3] on an attachment formed by a daughter of the latter, which,

[1] Epist. vi. p. 459, 460—abridged.
[2] Epist. ii. 351. vi. p. 143.
[3] Brother of Joachim.

A. D. 1560.

though apparently not fixed on any unworthy object, was not agreeable to her father. He reminds him, that our trials are often aggravated by the irritation of our minds, and by our adopting harsh measures: that, in the case of our children especially, something is to be remitted of what we might strictly insist upon, and some indulgence granted to their weakness. He had known, he says, many instances in which the happiness of families had been secured by mild proceedings, or destroyed by severe ones. He would have his friend therefore not offer undue violence to his daughter's inclinations: and he adds, "It is not merely my turn of mind which makes me give this advice: I am moved by this weighty consideration, that all our worldly concerns are trivial, compared with the right practice of devotion, and maintaining communion with God. Let us in all things so govern ourselves, that neither our own prayers, nor the prayers of those who are dear to us, may be hindered. Let me intreat you therefore to behave mildly to your daughter; that she may serve God with a quiet mind—which will also conduce to your own peace and comfort. I am a father, and know the heart of a father." [1]

[1] Epist. iv. 675.—We may here observe, that the last fourteen letters in the second book of Melancthon's published epistles are addressed to a faithful and valued servant, whom he constantly calls, "Charissime Joannes"—"very dear John." They bear a strong testimony to the excellence of the servant and the kindness of the master. On the death of John, "Melancthon invited the academicians to his funeral, delivered an oration over his grave, and composed an epitaph" in Latin verse for his tombstone, in which he speaks of himself as having

——"in a servant found a friend sincere,
And more than friend, a man of faith and prayer."

See Cox's Life of Mel. c. iv.

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3. On afflictions.

III. That piety of the writer's mind, which gives so religious a turn to all these subjects, will appear still more conspicuous where the *afflictions and death* of his friends are concerned.

Death of N. Hausman.

The death of the excellent Nicholas Hausman,[1] in the year 1538, seems to have deeply affected both Luther and Melancthon. "Dr. Martin," says Melancthon, "passed the whole of yesterday in tears. I know not what sort of a night has followed so sad a day. He bewails not our departed friend, but the church which has lost so invaluable a pastor.—But let us remember, Hausman is not dead, but is removed from all the troubles of life to immortality. And, though there is reason to grieve for the church, yet Christians must not sink under their grief, but raise and confirm their minds by means of prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ."—And still more strikingly, in another letter on the same event, he says: "Reflecting on the decease of Hausman, I feel as on the dismissal of friends home from a foreign land to our common native country. Their departure awakens all my own love for that country, and I desire to go with them to those better habitations—to rise to that eternal world of light, where we may enjoy God, at a distance from all sin, and error, and darkness.—I beseech you therefore refrain your grief, and think of serving the church committed to your care. In battle, soldiers must not let their courage fail because they see their comrades fall around them: but rather succeed to their places. So let us not desert the post assigned us, but pray that God will vouchsafe to be with us."[2]

[1] Vol. i. 131-2. [2] Epist. ii. 280—282.

To his friend Matthesius, on the deformity of his son. "Reverend and dear brother, Often in praying for my daughter, under great distress, I thought parental affection had been implanted in our breasts, to remind us of the love of God towards his only-begotten Son, and towards us. But this affection is especially called forth under afflictive circumstances. I doubt not therefore the grief which you and your dear wife feel for the deformity of your child. Yet Adam, and Eve, and David suffered still severer wounds: and think what anguish pierced the soul of the blessed virgin!—I purpose shortly to publish your discourse: and I mean to weave into it the doctrine of consolation under affliction, and of the distinction between philosophical and evangelical consolation."[1] A. D. 1560. Matthesius's Son.

To Pfeffinger, on the death of his son. "It is the will of God that we should mourn at the loss of those who have been dear to us; and in our grief he approves our piety. In proportion also to the excellence of a man's nature is the strength of his affections.[2] I can conceive therefore the depth of your grief for the loss of your son. And I blame not your feelings; but rather sympathise with them, both for your sake and that of the public.—Yet consider, that God hath commanded us both to grieve and to moderate our grief. Let us first remember that these events are all ordered by Death of Pfeffinger's Son:

[1] Epist. ii. 88.

[2] In the next letter, on the death of Osiander's wife, he says: "Those stoical precepts, which forbid us to grieve, are not only vain but barbarous and unjust, and are condemned by that *Christian philosophy* which we would cultivate: for God abhors those that are *without natural affection*."

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the divine counsel, and that our minds must be bowed into submission to God. Then let us consider, not what we have lost, but to what blessedness your excellent son is called away—from what a miserable world, and at what a time. We ought to congratulate him on being advanced to the heavenly society, where he drinks no more, as we do, of polluted streams, but of the pure and inexhaustible fountain of wisdom: where he hears the Son of God, and the prophets and the apostles; and gives thanks to God with ineffable joy. Thinking on such a state, we could wish at once to fly to it, from the comparative dungeon in which we live.—Your grief is increased, perhaps, by reflecting on the genius, the attainments, and the virtues of your son. But this reflection ought rather to assuage your grief. He lived to good purpose while he lived. You saw the evidences of his piety shining forth in his life and in his death—such as demonstrated that eternal life was begun in him, and that his removal hence has been to heavenly bliss. As often as you think of his endowments, give thanks to God, who shewed such favour both to you and to him. A grateful mind will remember its mercies as well as its trials.... If you are at any time compelled to spend some months at a distance from your family, amidst rude and unfriendly companions, the thoughts of returning home alleviate your uneasiness. So now bear your bereavement with moderated feelings, because in a little time you shall go and join your son in that blessed society, and see him adorned with higher honours than he could here receive, and associated with the most glorious companions. There you shall live with him to all eternity, enjoying the vision

of God, and the most blessed intercourse with Christ and all his servants. On this state let us fix our eyes during our troublesome sojourn here: let us bear up the more cheerfully, knowing that our course is short, and that we are formed for spending eternity with God, and not for the fleeting gratifications of this life.—May God support you in body and mind—according to that sentence, "*In him we live, and move, and have our being.*"[1] A. D. 1560.

Of Jerome Camerarius:

We have given an extract from a letter to Jerome Camerarius, concerning his daughter, written in August 1545: before the end of that year Melancthon had to address Joachim Camerarius on his brother Jerome's death—an event which, viewed in the connexion in which it is presented to us, impresses us with the vanity of so many of our hopes, and fears, and anxieties. Melancthon says: "I sincerely loved your brother, not only because I love you, but for the sake of his genius, his goodness, his weight of character, his moderation of mind, and because, as I saw him relying on God in his troubles, I could not doubt that he was himself beloved of God. I grieve therefore that he is taken from us.—But what do I say, I *loved* him? Nay, I still love him: for he dwells with the Son of God; and with Abraham, and Joseph, and David, and John the Baptist, and S. Paul; and sees them face to face who are the judges of the conflicts in which we are engaged. I hope I shall join that blessed company a short time before you do. So far am I from shrinking at the prospect of quitting my imprisonment here, that, as often as I think of the employments of that

[1] Epist. i. 97.

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blessed society, the desire to join them glows within me.... I am no stranger to the contemplation of death. But God would have us not dwell on our miseries, but seek and expect consolation from him, who is *the God of all comfort*, and who dwells with the afflicted—as I have often found, in such a manner as assures me that we are not left to the government of chance."[1]

Of Geo. Heltus:

In our former volume a letter of Luther's was inserted[2] on the death of Heldus, or Heltus, who had been preceptor to Cruciger, Camerarius, and prince George of Anhalt. Melancthon has two interesting letters on the same event, which may deserve to be abstracted in this place. The first is addressed to George of

1545. March 9.

Anhalt. "When tidings were brought me of the death of Heltus I was confounded: and I soon discovered that my grief was shared by all good men; for no one knew him without loving him. How much more then will *you* feel his loss. How will you miss him in your deliberations and friendly meetings.... The breast of our deceased friend glowed with the love of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ; so that he thought all the concerns of this life insignificant, and laboured to spread the gospel. At the same time he was adorned with all other graces which ought to be found in the members of Christ. He was wise and faithful, and successful too, in his conduct and his counsels: and therefore I doubt not that God was his director. And now he is called hence to join the heavenly society, and enjoys ineffable converse with God and with Christ, with the apostles and prophets, and with your

[1] Epist. iv. 687.

[2] Vol. i. 517.

sainted mother also. Let us congratulate him on having gained the harbour; and think of soon bearing him company there.—You are well acquainted with the remedies against grief; yet I have thought it might not be without its use to recount some of them at this time.—Jonathan was snatched away from David in a much more painful way than our brother has been taken from us. Though he quitted us sooner than we could have wished, yet he departed amid the embraces of his friends. Let us pray that God would supply his place by a suitable successor. The Son of God, who sits at the right hand of the eternal Father, promises, amid the gifts which he bestows upon men, to send able pastors and teachers to his church.—Your highness's most devoted, Philip Melancthon." A. D. 1560.

The other letter on the same occasion is to Joachim Camerarius.—"For six years I enjoyed the friendship of Heltus. He often discoursed with me on public affairs, and entered into inquiries concerning the genuine worship of God: and I can truly say, that, instructed by his learning and piety, I was enabled to treat some points more correctly than before. Well knowing therefore his integrity, and the useful and happy course of his life, I mourn his loss; and that still more for the sake of the public, and particularly of the churches of Misnia, than even for my own. Your feeling on the occasion, looking back to him as your early instructor, will be still deeper. But let us have recourse to the consolations of God. You know how great was the darkness of philosophy on the causes of death and other calamities, and on the proper resources under such events. But to us God hath come forth from his secret

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places, and hath himself audibly proclaimed to us why our frail and feeble nature is exposed to so many evils; and hath declared that he will not forsake his church under them. Thus instructed, let us support ourselves on all occasions.—My sadness has been deepened by hearing of the cruelties practised in the Netherlands. The preacher in the French church at Strasburg, a learned and blameless man, has been put to death. Another minister has suffered at Brussels; and a noble matron with her two daughters at Deventer. Other like occurrences are reported: I wish that leading persons might lay them to heart.[1]—Our Spaniard has returned to us,[2] preserved by a special interposition of providence. I have desired him to write his story, which we will bring you.—In the midst of such sufferings of the church at large, let us bear our burdens patiently; let us acknowledge the causes of our calamities, and implore a mitigation of them, as the prophets often did. *In the midst of wrath remember mercy: suffer not thy whole displeasure to arise: save the remnant of thy people: cast us not off among the ungodly: make thine anger towards us to cease!*—I will explain to you the real causes of my anxiety when we meet."[3]

Of Æpinus's wife:

On Æpinus pastor of Hamburg, who had lost his wife in childbed, he urges many of the same topics, entering with deep sympathy into the aggravations of his affliction, arising from the circumstances of his wife's death, and

[1] Compare vol. i. 413.

[2] "Hispanus Franciscus." Melancthon wrote from Worms. Compare vol. i. 410.

[3] Epist. iv. 662, 663. On the closing sentence, compare above, vol. i. 409, &c.

various reasons which had seemed to render her society indispensable to him. But consciously unable, at the distance at which he was placed, to render him any other services on this afflictive occasion, he says, "I have recourse to that which is the most efficacious of all—prayer that the Lord Jesus Christ, the fountain and restorer of life, would comfort you by his Holy Spirit, and preserve the church, both in your house and in your city."—He leads him to seek the true remedy of his sorrows in anticipating a reunion with his excellent departed wife, in that state in which he should "converse with her on the wisdom of God, the elementary knowledge of which she had learned from him on earth."—He concludes with mentioning the case of a friend, who had found a cheering relief under deep affliction, occasioned by the death of a son, in opening, by apparent accident, on the words, "He hath made us, and not we ourselves." "This single reference to divine providence, the afflicted person said, seemed to kindle a heavenly light within, which diffused peace through his breast." [1] A. D. 1560.

Of Gerbelius's Son.

To Gerbelius, on the death of his son. "I deeply sympathise with you, and should gladly comfort you: but all other topics than those which the divine word furnishes are frigid and empty. Among those of an availing kind one is, that God has repeatedly taught us, that his church must bear the cross, and the reasons why it must do so. He has exercised the great luminaries of his church, and above them all their great Head, his beloved Son, with severe sufferings. As therefore we know the will of God, and are assured what the issue shall be,

[1] Epist. i. 96.

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we must do as St. Peter charges us, *humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God*—that mighty hand which not only subverts prosperity, but also wonderfully supports and delivers his people in adversity, beyond their expectation. Let us obey God therefore, and *not faint when we are rebuked of him*.—I have been frequently called to mourn the death of beloved friends within the last two years. I lately lost my sister, and my sister-in-law, my brother's wife; also Capito, and Grynæus, and his son. I could recount a longer catalogue than I could well bear to review, were I not convinced that we must submit to God; and likewise that my departed friends are not lost, but still contemplate, with far higher advantage and delight, those truths which we imperfectly discussed together in this state of comparative darkness. —Think thus my friend, that you shall again embrace your departed wives and children: that you shall conduct your son through the glorious company of the prophets and apostles, and recal to his mind what you taught him concerning them, and hear the doubtful points of their respective histories cleared up by themselves in person. You shall hear the Son of God himself speaking to you. You shall see your sainted wives conversing with Eve, and Sarah, and other holy women of old times. As often as I indulge these reflections, I feel the ardent desire of mingling with the blessed company.[1]—You remember Socrates

[1] "Academy" is his usual word on such occasions. The society of learned and holy men, engaged in the pursuit and dissemination of divine truth, had been his delight on earth; and he seems to image to himself the society of the same characters, transferred to the heavenly world, and still having the same object at heart—only now become "the spirits of just men made perfect."

says, that nothing could be more delightful to him, if the souls of men really live hereafter, than to depart out of this life, and to join Palamedes and other sages, and to learn from them the things of which he was here left in doubt. If to him the thought of death was alleviated by that obscure and uncertain hope, how ought we to be affected, who assuredly know that we are formed for the presence of God himself, and that by his Son, our great High Priest, our forfeited inheritance is restored to us?—I have not written to instruct you; but because I hoped the converse of a friend might at such a time be soothing to you.—Farewell." [1] A. D. 1560.

Melancthon's family.

The affliction which Melancthon himself suffered on account of a beloved daughter has been repeatedly referred to: and with some more distinct notice of her history we will close these extracts relative to cases of suffering and sorrow.

Melancthon had two sons and two daughters. Concerning the sons I find nothing recorded.[2] The younger daughter was married to Caspar Peucer, a man of great eminence as a physician, a scholar, and a philosopher. He was also a zealous labourer and a great sufferer in the same cause with his father-in-law: being much persecuted by the divines of Jena and Weimar, and subjected by the elector Augustus to a very severe imprisonment of ten years continuance, chiefly on the ground of his having renounced Luther's doctrine of the corporal presence in the eucharist.[3] The elder daughter was an elegant and accomplished young woman, who reflected the image of her father's mind,

His daughter, the wife of Sabinus.

[1] Epist. vi. p. 39.

[2] "It seems probable they died in early life." Cox, p. 136.

[3] Mosheim iv. 49. Melch. Adam.

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1536.

and was a great favourite with him. She was married at a very early age to George Sabinus, a pupil of her father's, not unworthy of his master, as far as intellectual endowments were concerned,[1] but a stranger to his meekness and moderation of mind. Sabinus, flattered in early life by the attentions paid him by the great and the learned both in Germany and Italy, cherished ambitious aims, and in consequence expected services from his father-in-law in promoting his advancement, which it was neither in Melancthon's power, nor agreeable to his views, to render. Disappointed of his hopes in this respect, he removed, in the year 1544, much against Melancthon's wishes, into Prussia, to take the superintendance of the new academical institution which Albert of Brandenburg was then forming at Königsberg. This proved a final removal of his wife from her father's presence. She seems to have been by no means kindly treated by her husband, and she died three years afterwards at her new place of residence, leaving behind her three daughters and an infant son.[2] These occurrences inflicted a deep wound on the tender heart of Melancthon. He however not only took on himself the charge of his grandchildren's education, but behaved with great kindness to Sabinus. The latter returned from Prussia in 1553, and settled at Francfort on the Oder; and he is spoken of as spending his remaining days use-

[1] He was much distinguished as a Latin poet: and "he became successively professor of the Belles Lettres, at Francfort on the Oder, rector of the new academy at Königsberg, and counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg." Cox, p. 138. Melch. Adam gives a life of him in his biography of German Philosophers.

[2] Mel. Epist. iv. 750.

fully and piously, and ending them in a manner becoming a sincere Christian, (in the year 1560). A. D. 1560.

The following are extracts from Melancthon's letters relative to these affairs.

"Sabinus aims to get to court. This is his object. Perhaps he is not disinclined to remove my daughter to a greater distance from me. But I check myself: I commend her to God. I reflect how the mother of John the Baptist, and Mary the mother of our Lord, and many other pious women were preserved; and that at a time when Syria was overrun by Parthian, Roman, and Herodian troops.... I remember once when she was ill, in her infancy, to have found my mind suddenly and effectually cheered under my anxieties about her, by the simple reflection, She is the object of the divine care!.... Though I grieve to have my daughter removed so far from me, yet, amid so many public miseries, I must bear this private affliction with submission. The thought of her virtues often soothes my sadness. I commend her to God!"—He then relates a little incident of her early years, which had made a lasting impression on his memory and his heart. "I was holding her in my arms in the morning, when she had only her night-gown on. She observed tears stealing down my cheeks, and she took up her skirt and wiped them away. This little action of her's so penetrated my soul, that I could not but think it significant." 1544.

Again: "So the mother, with her two little girls, follows her husband, full of sadness, and anticipating miscarriage and death, as the consequence. May God avert it! I pray the Son of God, who hath said, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*, to guard and direct her....The whole

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proceeding is strange.—But I am now drawing up for him[1] a scheme for the regulation of the university."—Elsewhere, alluding to the troubles which the marriage of his daughter had brought both upon her and himself, he says, "But *I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him.*"

1547. On receiving the sad tidings of her death, he wrote the following letter to her husband.—"I doubt not you yourself feel that the force of paternal affection is great. You will readily believe me then, when I say that I loved my daughter Ann most dearly. Having therefore formed a high opinion of you from your abilities as a writer, as did also many other competent judges, I willingly gave her to you, praying that the connexion might be happy and prosperous. As however we are taught by the heavenly doctrine what are the causes and the remedies of human afflictions, let us endeavour wisely to receive what has now befallen us.—Though I am in the deepest distress for my daughter's death, and because it took place when she was far removed from her parents' embraces, and when I had no opportunity of conversing with her on the most important topics, yet I keep before my mind those consolations which God has graciously provided for us. Among these the chief is, that my dear daughter previously exhibited sure signs of love to God: on which ground I trust that she now enjoys his blessed presence, and that of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ,—to whom I often commended her with tears: and in that presence it is my hope ere long to embrace her again.—But now I wish that our friendship should remain unbroken:

[1] Sabinus.

and I will do all in my power to preserve it. Your children I account as my own. They are mine: and I love them as I loved their mother. ...She was devoted to her children: and I wish to catch her feelings towards them. I not only advise you, but I earnestly entreat you, to send the little girls to me—one or both of them[1]. They shall be faithfully and tenderly trained up in the knowledge of God, and in becoming duties, as their sister is. Her letters to you will be a proof of her progress. Little Albert, I take for granted, is committed to a trusty nurse. May God preserve him!...The dangers of the war do not at all prevent my wishing to see all my family gathered round me. God in his mercy has protected us hitherto, and he will, I trust, yet preserve us: and, if circumstances require, I will not neglect to place those about me in a situation of greater security.—But let me know what you resolve to do respecting your daughters." A.D. 1560.

This letter indicates a mind full of affection, but, at the same time, I think, in some degree adjusting itself to the less ardent sensibilities of its correspondent. Some sentences, addressed to confidential friends, depict in a more vivid manner the depth of the writer's grief. To Eber he says, "I send you the account of my daughter's death, the reading of which so increases my grief that I fear its effects on my health. I have before my eyes her gesture, when, on being asked what she would have said to her parents, she replied only by tears; and it awakens recollections which harrow up my

[1] "Seu omnes, seu aliquas." This would seem to imply a greater number of daughters than she appears to have left. Perhaps he includes the eldest, who, as the next sentences shew, was already with her grandfather.

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feelings. But I recur to the consolations which God has proposed to us.—Compassion for my son-in-law also now effaces from my mind the remembrance of past offences." In a subsequent letter he says again: "That silence of my daughter—those tears have inflicted an incurable wound on my heart." Yet he adds, "my grief for our public calamities[1] even surpasses that which I feel for my domestic affliction." —To Cruciger he writes: "I loved my daughter with that affection which God has implanted in our nature, and that, quickened by the thought of the sad situation[2] to which she was reduced—especially as it threw her virtues into shade. Her premature death being now added to the calamity, my grief is deep. I blame my own negligence for having thrown her into such circumstances. Yet, since for ten years together[3] I daily commended her to God with many tears, and the care of God for her was strikingly discovered to me, I judge that he has removed her out of life in order to relieve her from her troubles: and this thought in some degree reconciles my mind. I give thanks therefore to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he hath heard my prayers, and called her to a better state."[4]

Every Christian heart must sympathise with the sorrows and the pious resignation of the afflicted father, on this trying occasion.

4. Miscellaneous.

IV. We may, lastly, here collect together a few brief miscellaneous notices.

[1] Probably this was written just at the period of the battle of Muhlberg. His daughter died Feb. 26, 1547.

[2] "Tristissimam servitutem." We must suppose his feelings rather to overcharge his language sometimes.

[3] He means from the period of her marriage in 1536.

[4] Camer. Vit. Mel. § 61, 79, 98. Mel. Epist. i. 88, 128. ii. 121, 151, 164. iv. 318, 323, 330—332.

A. D. 1560.

His diligence and devotedness.

Of the indefatigable *diligence* of this spare, feeble, delicate man, for between forty and fifty successive years, in incessant lecturing; in writing upon almost every branch of science and literature, and indeed upon all sorts of subjects human and divine; in corresponding with persons of all ranks and in various countries; in maintaining the most harassing conferences and disputations; and in journeying to settle churches and regulate universities; it must be superfluous to speak.[1] We will only add a sentence or two from his letters, expressive of his determination to persevere under all circumstances.

[1] It may be observed, that among the labours of Melancthon I have not enumerated preaching or pastoral duties. The fact is, I have not been able to discover either from Camerarius, or Melchior Adam, or Bayle, or Dr. Cox, or from his own writings, that Melancthon ever took orders. Fuller, indeed, in his Abel Redivivus, speaks of him as having "preached forty-two years at Wittemberg:" but this seems to be a mere assumption from his having lived and taught there for that length of time. Professor Augusti, who has recently edited some of his works, says expressly, that he "never preached sermons to the people in the vulgar tongue." (Mel. Loci Communes, Augusti, p. 194). He expounded the scriptures indeed, but this appears to have been only in the lecture-room to the students. "Lector" and "Preceptor" are the terms commonly applied to him, never pastor or preacher: he is called, indeed, "reverende," or "reverendissime vir;" but that amounts to no proof of his clerical character. Luther, when in his Patmos, wished him to preach, saying that he was virtually a priest, "etiamsi unctus ac rasus non esset;" ("though his crown was not anointed and shaven;") but he seems not to have complied with the wish. (Melch. Ad. i. 170.) We may add, that he married four or five years before Luther, and apparently without offence; that Eckius, at the Leipsic disputation, and elsewhere, objected to him as "a grammarian and not a divine;" that his epitaph says nothing of him as a priest or minister; and that no trace, as far as I have observed, appears of his having ever occupied any ecclesiastical station.

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To prince George of Anhalt he writes: "As it is said in the Psalm, *I will sing praise to my God as long as I have my being*, so let us, while time is allowed us, faithfully spread the gospel, whether states and empires be at peace or under disturbance." Again: "I will serve the church by teaching necessary truths, with modesty and moderation, so long as God shall give me leave. The conflicts of empires and of factions are nothing to men of our class." Yet again: "I form no schemes, I have no private objects to aim at, I fortify myself with no factious adherents; (though, if I chose this, the means would not be wanting;) but, in my proper place, I teach good learning, serviceable to the public; and now also, in my old age, prepare for death, which cannot be far off: and I pray the Son of God to make me a *vessel of mercy!* Let others seek for power and pre-eminence: I have nothing to do with such things. The Son of God will judge of my course and of my intentions. He knows my desire to be, that truth may be brought to light, the glory of God set forth, and his church appear in her beauty. With this consciousness I live, and commit myself to God. I know that I am a man and a miserable sinner: but I hope that many wise and good men can bear testimony to my aims and my labours, in the cause to which I have devoted myself."—To Spalatinus: "This is the object I propose to myself—the scope and end of my philosophy. You remember the wise saying of the elector Frederic—*What we can!* Let us adopt it. Let us serve the public as far as we can, and expect our protection, our favour, and our reward from God. Human rewards are nothing."[1]

[1] Epist. iii. 222. vi. p. 161. ii. 571. i. 94.

His *zeal for the instruction of youth*, and in recommending promising young men to patronage, and to useful situations, are prominent points in all his correspondence. "As long as I live," he says, "I will labour to bring forward what may be serviceable to youth." And again, "I am delighted with the verse of Epicharmus; for I think it a greater honour to be useful to children, than 'to capture Troy.'"[1] And hence he deliberately preferred publishing a series of treatises, in which, among other things, almost all the sciences were first reduced to order, from the miserable confusion in which they had been involved, to perfecting a small number of works which might have more exalted his own literary reputation.[2] A. D. 1560. Zeal for Education.

His *humility* often shines forth very pleasingly, and without ostentation. "My errors," he says, "and the errors of many other persons concerned, have been numerous: nor could things of such importance be recovered from the dark chaos in which they were sunk, without many mistakes being committed."—"I wish neither to rely Humility.

[1] Epist. ii. 407. iv. 837. His judgment in the following sentence will be gratifying to some of our public instructors: "By no kind of composition are the wits of boys more sharpened than by making verses." ("Non alio genere scribendi magis accuuntur puerorum ingenia, quam faciendis versibus.") Epist. vi. p. 360.

[2] This, with many other particulars, is stated and vindicated in a prefatory epistle to the first volume of his works, printed at Basle, 1542. It is to be found among his Epistles, i. 110. It relates to "himself and his own early pursuits." He here speaks with great modesty of his own attainments and writings, but justifies the reformation, (ascribing many of the censures passed upon it to the secret belief that Christianity itself was a mere fable, and therefore not worth the inconveniences attending the removal of its corruptions,) and rejoices in the part which he himself had taken with the reformers.

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on my own counsels, nor to introduce novelties, nor to contend for things not necessary."—"Let others boast themselves self-taught: I freely confess, that I am daily indebted to many persons for instruction in numerous particulars. To be single-handed is to be weak."[1]

His liberality and disinterestedness.

His *liberality* and *disinterestedness* must not be passed over. Camerarius writes of Melancthon's wife, "She was a most assiduous mistress of a family, liberal and beneficent to all, and so attentive to the poor, that, both in giving to all without distinction, and in making applications to others on their behalf, she seemed sometimes to exceed due bounds."—Moderate as were his means, Melancthon's house appears to have been open to all comers, who took any interest in the cause of religion or learning: and we have already observed, that he did not scruple to do much to support, as well as gratuitously to instruct, poor students of promising talents and character.—At the time when he was a wanderer from home on account of the war, he thus writes to a fellow sufferer: "With respect to pecuniary matters, God will provide. What I have left you shall share with me." And again: "Though the war is ruinous to my finances, yet, if you have need to take any thing of your friends, take it of *me*. As long as any part of my property remains we will hold it in common."[2]—We may perhaps think this excessive: but certainly it is noble. Surely also it is Christian; and, when such conduct is adopted upon genuine principles of faith in God and love to man, no one will suffer by it.

[1] Μιᾶς χειρὸς ασθενὴς μάχη.—So he writes to Ales: "Solitude is not favourable to the investigation of truth: though it may be agreeable to those who read only for amusement." Epist. iv. 737, 135. iii. 109.

[2] Epist ii. 472, 474.

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We hear of no material inconvenience which accrued to either Melancthon or his family, by this disposition to share his property with the poor and with his friends.—Yet, with respect to his stipend from the university, which was I apprehend his main support, it would appear from a conversation related to have passed between Sabinus, afterwards his son-in-law, and cardinal Bembo, in Italy, that it did not exceed three hundred florins, or about seventy pounds a-year: and we have before seen that he hesitated to receive an addition to it.[1] Maurice also, when advanced to the electorate, could not, even on trial, induce him to ask, and scarcely to accept any thing from him.[2]—We had occasion to observe a like spirit in Luther:[3] and I may add, that, in perusing their memoirs, it has struck me as common to most of the eminent men, who were made the instruments of so great a work at the period of the reformation. Yes, and, if we would aspire to be employed with success on such high and holy services, we must become detached more than we are from the interests of this life. Oh, are we not become far too calculating,—if I may so speak, too *commercial*—too much given to contrive the means of acquiring a good provision, and of maintaining a handsome style of living? This was never the spirit which wrought great things in the church of God. Let us beware lest we fall under the sentence, though perhaps

[1] Vol. i. 336.

[2] Melch. Ad. i. 173. iv. 88. Cox, p. 110—115. The prince remarked to his courtiers, "that he had never seen or experienced any thing like Melancthon's conduct, who was not only too disinterested to ask for any thing, but would not even accept it when offered." Van de Corput, in Cox, 115.

[3] Vol. i. 556.

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in a somewhat varied sense, "Ye have your reward,"—in improved circumstances, but in blighted labours!

Devotional spirit.

His *devout spirit* has sufficiently appeared: but we may add the two following short specimens of the sort of sentiments which abound in his correspondence. "Amid these disorders may the Son of God protect us! When he formed such an alliance with the human race as to take our nature upon him, he gave an irrefragable proof of his real regard for us. Oh amazing, that the divine nature should so abase itself! Oh more than iron-hardness of the human heart, to be so little affected with such a fact!"—"In all ages the church has been subject to exile; to remind us, I think, that we have lost our proper native country, and that we are to be led back to it by the Son of God, for this purpose living in exile among us. But, as God bears a regard to us in our banishment, so would he have all pious persons relieve the sorrows of their fellow exiles."[1]

Melancthon's Common Places. 1521.

To give an account of works which have extensively promoted the cause of religion, and permanently influenced the state of the church, is a legitimate and a very important object of this history. Hence the ample notice taken by Mr. Milner of the writings of S. Augustine, and the copious review given by Dr. Milner of Luther's Commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, and of some others of his works: and hence

[1] Epist. vi. pp. 161, 170.

also the full account, inserted in our own former volume, of the Confession of Augsburg. In pursuance of the same design, we propose now to conclude our history of Melancthon with a particular notice of one among his numerous compositions—the most important of all those published in his own name alone. The work intended is his "Common Places," or brief discussions of the principal topics of theology. Independently of the great value of the work itself, it furnishes a very interesting article of literary and theological history.[1]

A. D. 1560.

Extraordinary celebrity of the work.

From its very first publication, in the year 1521, (when its author was only twenty-four years of age,) it obtained an extraordinary celebrity. Luther spoke of it as "invincible, worthy not only of immortality, but of being sanctioned by a canon of the church:" pronounced it far superior to any writings of his own—"the best book in the world next to the Bible;" and one which, throughly digested, was sufficient, with the holy scriptures, to make an accomplished divine: and, in his controversy with Erasmus, he told that learned writer, that it had, by anticipation, "ground all the arguments of his Diatribe to powder:"

[1] It appears clearly to have been Dr. Milner's intention to give some further account than he has done of this important volume. He says, (vol. v. (922,) 332,) "As the first edition of Melancthon's Common Places, or Theological Tracts, is exceedingly scarce, I have given in the Appendix a fuller account of its contents, as far as they relate to the difficult subject of the divine decrees. See Appendix, Melancthon's Common Places." Yet, on turning to the Appendix referred to, we find nothing but references to certain texts of scripture which Melancthon has quoted in the argument! It is added, however, "Some things contained in this performance may be referred to with advantage *on a future occasion.*"

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and he continued to speak of it in the same strain to the end of his days.[1] Erasmus also highly commended it:[2] while Cochlæus, the virulent opponent of Luther,[3] denounces it as "a most pestilent monster, big with ruin to the church." To an edition published in French, at Geneva, in the year 1551, Calvin prefixed an advertisement, in which he "eulogizes the author in the strongest terms," and says of the Common Places in particular, The work is "a summary of those truths which are essential to a Christian's guidance in the way of salvation."[4] In numerous theological schools no other text-book was used for the lectures delivered to the students: and in Misnia and Pomerania it was clothed with the authority of a symbolical book.[5] It spread even into Italy, and was well received at Rome itself, till it was discovered that the name of the author to whom it was ascribed, "Messer Ippofilo da Terra Negra," was no other than a translation of the words "Philip Melancthon,"—on which the copies were ordered to be burned![6] No less than ninety-nine editions have been enumerated, (sixty-seven in the original Latin, and thirty-two in different modern languages,) which were printed at various places within seventy four years from its first appearance; sixteen or seventeen of which were between the years 1521 and 1525: and we may be sure that where the demand was so great the impressions would

[1] Milner, v. 272. (859.) Above i. 319, 523. Cox's Melanc. p. 172-3. [2] Milner v. 323. (913.)

[3] Bp. Atterbury calls him, "A senseless and venomous writer." [4] Cox, 174. Augusti, ubi infra, p. 174.

[5] Augusti.

[6] Von der Hardt, Hist. Lit. Ref. iv. 30. M'Crie's Ref. in Italy, p. 35. *Melancthon* is Greek for his proper name *Schwartzerd*, which means *black earth*.

not be small ones. From the year 1595 to 1821, however, only one edition is known to have been printed,[1] besides that inserted in Von der Hardt's Literary History: and into so great neglect has this once celebrated work, from one cause or other, fallen, especially in the country which gave it birth, that Professor Augusti,[2] who in the last-mentioned year reprinted the work at Leipsic, complains that "scarcely three in a hundred of the German divines and theological students have ever seen the book, which their forefathers held in such high estimation."—The appearance of this edition, with the republication of some other pieces of the era of the reformation by the same editor, may be numbered, we trust, among the circumstances which indicate a favourable change to be taking place in Germany. He states, that he thus brings it out anew at the expiration of the third centenary from its original publication, not only from respect to the venerable author's memory, but because "the times seem specially to need true biblical theology, like that of Melancthon." "From profound ignorance of the author and his writings," he says, "he has been supposed to patronize what is called *modern theology*, but which the reformer would rather have denominated *atheology*." He presses the study of the work therefore on the rising generation of divines, as "a preservative against prevailing scepticism on the one hand, and mysticism on the other."[3]

A. D. 1560.

Its recent republication.

But other circumstances besides those already mentioned render the history of this work curi-

Changes made in it by the author.

[1] At Francfort, 1620. Augusti, p. 190.

[2] "S. Theologiæ Doctor, et Professor in Universitate Borussicâ Rhenanâ."

[3] In præf.—Compare Rose on German Protestantism.

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ous and interesting. Not only were various new topics introduced in the course of its progress, and the volume, at first no more than a small duodecimo of two hundred and fifty pages, swelled to nearly four times its original size; but, on certain important points, changes far beyond mere "alterations in the expressions,"[1] were made, which attracted great attention among his contemporaries; have been made the subject of much investigation since; and furnish a very striking instance, how much increasing experience, study, and prayer teach a wise and good man modesty, and may very probably moderate his sentiments upon high points, on which he might at first be disposed to dogmatize. So much curiosity has this subject excited among the learned, that, after more than one volume had been produced upon it,[2] Brucker, (as it is understood,) the learned author of the History of Philosophy, expressed his wish that some competent writer would give a complete history of the work—a wish which, according to Augusti, has been fully satisfied in a German treatise by Strobelius,[3] pastor of Woehrden, author of Melancthoniana, and other esteemed works, and editor of Camerarius's Life of Melancthon. From this volume, and from his own investigations, Augusti has presented much interesting information, of which I have availed, and shall still further avail myself.

After the work had been about four years before the public, its author, in 1525, as far as his influence extended, restrained its publication; and it was no more reprinted, at least in the original Latin, till 1535, when he brought

[1] Milner v. 330. (921.)
[2] Augusti, p. 198.
[3] Printed at Nuremberg 1776 and 1782. Augusti, p. 167.

it out afresh, doubled in size, and introduced by a long and interesting dedication to our Henry VIII, which was continued till that prince had proved himself unworthy of such a mark of respect from a leading reformer.[1] Edition again rapidly succeeded edition of the book in this form, till the year 1543, when it appeared a second time remodeled, and again nearly doubled in size. The number of articles is here reduced from thirty-nine to twenty-four —nearly the original amount: but this is effected not by omission, but by making some, which had formed distinct heads, subdivisions of others. A. D. 1560.

We have therefore, in fact, three distinct series of editions, those from 1521 to 1525, those from 1535 to 1542 inclusive, and those subsequent to the last of these dates. The most material variations are between the first and second series: those between the second and third being made rather by addition than by alteration. The ten years' interval, during which the work was in a manner suspended, from 1525 to 1535, was an important period. To name no other events, the controversy between Luther and Erasmus on the will, and the preparation, discussion, and defence of the Confession of Augsburg, had fallen within that term: and no one who knows the temper and Three series of editions.

[1] Henry's reply, which was accompanied by a present of two hundred ducats, is given in Gerdes's Hist. Ref. iv. 251: Melancthon's acknowledgment, among his Epistles, i. 27.— All the former part of the dedication is also to be seen in the Epistles, i. 9, and that part which immediately addresses the king, in iii. 6, with the two following lines subjoined, in which the author laments the change for the worse which had taken place in his patron:

"Dum laudandus erat, regem laudavimus Anglum:
Hei mihi, quam varium est regibus ingenium!"

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habits of Melancthon will doubt, that he would be most seriously reconsidering, at such a time, every part of a work, which had met with acceptance, and was likely to produce an impression, far beyond all his expectations. He would be anxious, before it reappeared, to give it every degree of perfection in his power.—The changes which he made by no means gave satisfaction to all his friends, and particularly to many of the divines who took a leading part in the protestant church after the death of Luther. These latter in consequence asserted, that that reformer's commendations of the work referred only to the earlier editions, and that he disapproved the alterations made in it, though, for the sake of not disturbing the peace of the church, he did not publicly censure them. This, however, according to Augusti, has been amply disproved in works to which he refers,[1] and indeed its incorrectness might be pretty decisively inferred from what has appeared in this history. It was in 1543, eight years after the *principal* changes had taken place, and when the editions of twenty years' previous date were no doubt of comparatively rare occurrence, that Luther commended the work, without any qualification, to his Italian correspondents;[2] and it was in 1545, two years after the *last* important alterations had been made, that he eulogized it, in the same unqualified manner, in the preface to the first volume of his own collected works.[3]

On account of the extreme rarity of the first editions, (which made Hutter, a learned author who died so far back as the year 1616, complain that they were inaccessible to him,) and from

[1] Augusti, p. 241. [2] Vol. i. 319. [3] Ib. 523.

their being much sought after, as exhibiting the earliest complete monument of the original doctrine of the reformers, Herman Von der Hardt was induced to reprint the first edition verbatim in his Literary History, printed at Francfort, in 1717: and for the same reasons Augusti's edition is copied with scrupulous fidelity[1] from this reprint. The latter editor, however, has subjoined the variations of the other editions on some topics, on which the principal changes had been made. A. D. 1560.

After these introductory notices, the remarkable nature of which has drawn them out to a greater length than we could otherwise have wished, we proceed to give some account of the contents of the book itself. And in doing this we shall, in the altered parts, in the first instance follow the course of the first edition, and then mark, as we proceed, the material changes which were afterwards made.[2]

Origin and design of the work.

The work arose, as the author informs us, out of his lectures to the students on the Epistle to the Romans, and it bore an especial reference to that epistle. He wished simply to present his auditors with an orderly list of the principal theological topics, which were involved in this portion of S. Paul's writings, and which they might study from it. His aim was to draw their attention to the sacred scriptures themselves, and not to substitute any

[1] So scrupulous, that the very errors of the press are retained: but I fear many others are added to them, for the volume is very incorrectly printed.

[2] What follows I trust will be acceptable to those who make divinity a study, but the reader, who finds it not interesting to him, may pass over the remainder of this chapter, without loss to the *history*. It, as well as the next chapter, may be considered as occupying the place of an *appendix* to the history of the Lutheran reformation.

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thing for them. What he proposed therefore to furnish, was an *index* rather than a *commentary*. Hence he was purposely very brief, and had no thought of publishing his work, till transcripts of it, being, in his opinion, very injudiciously multiplied, it was placed beyond his control.[1]

Subjects on which it proposed to treat.

On subjects which utterly surpass our comprehension, as likewise on those respecting which almost all professed Christians are agreed, he proposed not to dwell.—Hence, though he enumerates among his topics "God, the Trinity, Creation," he adds nothing upon these heads, but hastens at once to "Christ, and his benefits," or at least to topics immediately connected with these. "This," he says, "is *Christian knowledge*, to understand what the law requires; how we may be enabled to obey it; whence we are to find the pardon of sin; by what means our feeble staggering minds are to be enabled to withstand the world, the flesh, and the devil; how our wounded consciences are to be healed. These are the topics of which S. Paul treats."—Though our author, when afterwards compelled to estimate more highly the importance of his own work, and in consequence induced to compose somewhat more resembling a complete body of divinity, found it necessary to depart from this simplicity of his original design, and to discuss the several topics which he had only named before; yet we cannot but remark with delight the spirit in which this youthful, but well-furnished theologian commences his work. He does not, in the lecturer and the divine, forget the Christian. He

[1] Præfat. ad Plettenerum, prefixed to the earlier editions.

remembers that theology is no mere speculative science: he is sensible that its great design is to recover the lost sinner to God, and to teach him the way to heaven. He feels *himself* to be a party concerned—one whose conscience needs to be pacified, and his heart renewed: and the means by which this is to be effected are the subject of first attraction to him.—Oh that all our professors and teachers of divinity may here tread in his steps! that all our students of divine knowledge may commence with a like deep feeling, that their own personal salvation is concerned in what they study! Only when they thus learn it, in the first place for their own use—their own deliverance from guilt and sin—will they be prepared to teach it profitably to others. A. D. 1560.

But, after this introduction, the reader will perhaps be surprised to learn, that the first topic on which our author enlarges is, "The powers of man, and in consequence the question of free will:" and probably he will be still more surprised at being informed, that Melancthon here teaches the very highest predestinarian and necessitarian doctrines. But let him speak for himself. Its high predestinarian doctrine.

"Here," he says, "the Christian doctrine is entirely at variance with philosophy and human reason:" and he assigns among the causes which had produced the substitution of error for the true doctrine, that it had "seemed barbarous to teach, that man sins necessarily; cruel to cast the blame on his will, if that will were unable to turn itself from vice to virtue."[1]

Again: when he has defined liberty to mean "the power of acting in a given manner," he

[1] Edit. Augusti, p. 11.

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says: "Since all things which happen happen necessarily, according to the divine predestination, there is no such thing as liberty in our wills."[1] "The judgment of the flesh, or human reason, revolts from this, but the judgment of the spirit acquiesces in it." "In no way will you more surely learn either the fear of God or confidence in him, than by imbuing your mind with this doctrine of predestination." "It answers important purposes, firmly to believe that all things are done by God." "The scriptures teach that all things happen necessarily:" "they take away liberty from our wills by the necessity of predestination."[2]

He then supposes an objection to be made to his beginning with so harsh and difficult a doctrine: but he answers, "It matters little whether that, which must affect every part of our discussion, occupies the first place or the last in our compendium."[3]

He defends Valla upon these subjects against the censure of Eckius:[4] a circumstance which I here note because of what will hereafter come before us.

Then, in a summary of his doctrine at the close of this topic, he gives the following abstract: "If you speak of the human will in reference to predestination, there is no such thing as liberty, either in external acts or in

[1] Edit. Augusti, p. 12. [2] Ib. 12, 13. [3] Ib. 13.

[4] Ib. 14. Laurentius Valla was a distinguished scholar and patriot of the fifteenth century, who first exposed the pretended donation of Constantine to the bishops of Rome. Erasmus says of him, that he "rescued literature from the grave, and restored Italy to the splendour of her ancient eloquence;" while Bellarmine calls him "the precursor of the Lutherans." M'Crie's Italy, p. 15, 48. Gibbon's Rome, ix. p.161. 8vo.

internal operations of the mind. If you speak of it with reference to outward actions, there seems to the judgment of nature to be liberty. If you speak of it with reference to the affections, liberty has no existence, even according to the judgment of nature." In the last sentence his meaning is, that the mind cannot command its own likings and dislikings.[1] A. D. 1560.

We need feel the less hesitation in pronouncing, that in these statements there is no small extravagance and impropriety, because, in such a sentence the author himself would, a few years after, have concurred. Let not the younger student suppose, that that denial of free will, in which our church most justly concurs,[2] and which was an integral part of the general doctrine of the reformation, involves the sentiments here advanced. What is denied in these passages of Melancthon is *free agency*, not *free will* in the theological sense of that term: and, be it observed, it is denied upon principles which withhold it from all creatures, simply as such, and not merely from fallen beings. The scriptures "take away liberty from our wills *by the necessity of predestination*." We are to believe that "all things are done by God," evil, it appears, as well as good!—All this is exceedingly to be deprecated; and is a widely different thing from holding, that "the condition of man, *after the fall of Adam*, is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God." Remarks. Free Agency.

But here it may be expedient to offer some little explanation, not with a view to settle a controversy, which, in some of its bearings, has

[1] Edit. Augus. 18. [2] Article x.

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hitherto been found to baffle the powers of man, but only to enable less experienced readers to understand what some of the questions at issue really are,[1] and to make some necessary distinctions among them.

Free will: meaning of the term.

We may remark then, that there appears to be great infelicity in the language constantly, and perhaps unavoidably, employed in discussions concerning the will. The very term *free will* conveys to the great mass of hearers and readers very erroneous ideas of what is meant. The denial of free will at once suggests to their minds the denial of that power of choosing, and acting according to choice, which they find within themselves, and which appears to be essential to accountableness. But no such thing as this is intended. Melancthon's early doctrine, indeed, seems to strip all created beings of this power, "the power of acting in a given manner," and to consider them as under an illusion when they imagine themselves to be exercising it: but the ordinary theological sense, in which we esteem it orthodox to deny, and Pelagian to assert, the freedom of the will, involves no such sentiment: it even relates to quite a different question, extending only to *fallen* creatures; and means no more than this, that fallen man will never choose, and consequently never perform, what is 'spiritually

[1] Dr. Milner well observes, that "to clear up difficulties may be impossible in some instances," but that "distinctly to state them, which is the next thing to be aimed at, is always possible." Hist. v. 265. (852-3.) It were much to be wished that so acute and learned a writer, in his copious review of Luther's controversy with Erasmus, had distinctly stated, for the assistance of a humbler order of students, what are the several difficulties involved in the discussion, and which of them seem to belong to the class of things "knowable," and which not.

good,' 'good before God,' "without the grace of God by Christ preventing him, that he may have a good will, and working with him when he has that good will."[1] This practical doctrine, and that high metaphysical one in which the youthful, but not the matured Melancthon involves himself, are carefully to be distinguished. It is a *moral* freedom only, or freedom from corrupt bias in *fallen* man that is denied, not a metaphysical power or freedom *to choose as we will*—if such tautological language must be retained. Satan or a wicked man is, in this sense, as *free*, in his choice of evil, as a holy angel or a renewed man is in his choice of good:[2] but free will is allowed to the one, and denied to the other in a *moral* sense, because virtue is liberty, and vice is bondage. And this may be the true source of the application of the term *free* to the will. In any other sense the epithet is superfluous and improper: for, when we have said, that man *chooses*, we gain nothing by adding *freely*, or, in other words, *as he chooses*. If he does not, in this sense, choose *freely*, he in fact does not *choose* at all: "Nor is it possible," says Dr. Milner,

A. D. 1560.

[1] Church Art. x.

[2] "The idea of restraint is totally contrary to the act of choosing. In fact there is no restraint, either on the divine or human will: in both cases the will does what it does, whether good or bad, simply, and as at perfect liberty, in the exercise of its own faculty ... A man who has not the Spirit of God does evil willingly and spontaneously. He is not violently impelled against his will ... Again, when the Holy Spirit is pleased to change the will of a bad man, the new man still acts voluntarily: he is not compelled by the Spirit to determine contrary to his will; but his will itself is changed; and he cannot now do otherwise than love the good, as before he loved the evil." Luther on the Bondage of the Will, in Milner, v. 280, 281. (868-9.)

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"to go one step further than simply this, that men *do* choose and refuse."[1]

Inability.

We seem likewise almost unavoidably to fall into the use of the language which Melancthon has employed, and which is not without countenance from scripture,[2] speaking of the will of fallen man as *unable* to choose what is good: yet such language is very apt to convey erroneous notions. It seems to imply that the party concerned is *inclined* to make the right choice, and actually *tries* to make it, but cannot succeed: whereas the want of inclination is the very inability here intended.

Necessity.

The term *necessity* also conveys the same erroneous idea of *constraint* or *compulsion*; whereas the *certainty* of the event, without pretending to explain in what manner and by what means it is rendered certain, and much less implying that any violence is done to the volitions of the creature, is all that is meant by those who hold a portion of Melancthon's doctrine upon the subject of predestination. Luther, who considered "all events, though to our minds contingent, to be necessary, and unchangeable as they respect the divine will," observes: "Nevertheless, I wish we had a better word than *necessity*, which is commonly made use of in this dispute; for it conveys to the understanding an idea of

[1] Milner, v. 277. (8vo.)

[2] There is a *cannot* which implies the perfection of virtue —"God that *cannot* lie;" and a *cannot* which denotes the consummation of evil—"Eyes that *cannot* cease from sin" —"The carnal mind is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed *can* be"—'Satan *cannot* love;' as well as a *cannot* which removes all responsibility. The latter must be physical, the former is simply moral inability, or the want of right disposition.

restraint, which is totally contrary to the act of choosing."[1] A. D. 1560.

With regard to the abstruse question, in which Melancthon has entangled himself, of the necessary influence of the Creator over all the volitions and acts of the creature—or of the First Cause over all subordinate causes—it seems enough for us to know, (what is alike matter of experience and a principle of scripture,) that we possess all that freedom of choice and action which is necessary to constitute us accountable beings, and to make sin, *as sin* from first to last, the work of the creature and not of the Creator. It is not necessary to accountableness, that there should exist a freedom from all inward bias, that is, inclination or disposition, to evil: if such a bias destroyed responsibility in fallen angels or fallen man, the contrary bias to good must equally destroy all virtue in

[1] In Milner, v. 277. (864.)—For my own part, I confess, I choose to suspend my judgment upon points so far "too high" for us; where much, that SEEMS to be established by incontrovertible reasoning, and countenanced by scriptural authority, APPEARS also *to us, with our limited powers,* to be incapable of being reconciled with what is alike the dictate of nature and common sense, and the clear doctrine of divine revelation. But to those who revolt, with contempt and indignation, at the mention of any such necessity as is stated in the text, it may be worth while to learn a lesson of humility, by trying to disentangle themselves from the obnoxious doctrine, as following, at one, simple, unavoidable step, from the divine *prescience* alone, independently of any *predestination.* Thus: After all that can be said, it can never be disproved, that what is certainly foreseen must certainly come to pass: but future events are so foreseen by Almighty God—as both prophecy and the direct testimony of scripture demonstrate: therefore they are certain, or, in the sense explained, *necessary.*—I say again, I state not this as my own unhesitating conclusion: I only here throw it out as an exercise for those who imagine their own scheme free from such difficulties.

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holy angels and in recovered man: and a *neutral* state is absurd and self-contradictory; for indifference to good is a positively evil state of mind. This therefore is not necessary to accountableness; but only that we should be subject to no constraint or restraint *ab extra*, (from without,) no compulsion, which we certainly feel ourselves to be, in all cases in which we are ever considered as accountable.

Liberty.

That *liberty*, then, which is necessary to free agency, and consequently to responsibility, man clearly possesses: though that moral liberty, which consists in freedom from evil inclination, or rather in inclination to what is spiritually good, he has utterly lost, and is, in his present state, "of his own nature inclined unto evil."[1]—With respect to *contingency*, it exists, as these writers say, "with respect to man," in this sense—that he may evidently choose as his inclination dictates, and act or decline acting, according to his choice: but still, "with respect to God," the event is in every instance *certain*, as, by means incomprehensible to us, he foresees how every one will choose and act, and even so overrules their choice and actions, *without any violation of their liberty*, that his purposes are infallibly accomplished.—With respect to the influence of divine *grace* upon the mind—*how* Almighty God inclines and changes the will, without doing any violence to it, is a question relating to the *mode* of the divine operations, which belongs not to us: that he *does* so influence it is demonstrable from scripture,[2] and is made manifest also by facts, as compared with scriptural testimonies.

Contingency.

[1] Church Art. ix.

[2] See vol. i. 46.

Having offered these obsefvations, we now proceed to examine what were the changes which Melancthon, as time advanced, made in his statements upon these subjects. A. D. 1560.

In the second series of editions of his work, from 1535 to 1543, the article on free will is *preceded* by one "on the cause of sin, and on contingency," subjects which, he observes, have much harassed the church, and excited lamentable controversies. On each of them, the author says, "inextricable and absurd questions are raised, which are of dangerous tendency. Young students, therefore, are to be admonished to seek simple conclusions, conducive to piety and holiness of life, and to rest in them, rather than suffer themselves to be led away by captious and delusive disputations. Among such conclusions is the principle, ever to be held fast and embraced with the whole heart, that God is not the cause of sin, nor does he will its existence; but its true causes are the will of Satan and that of man."[1] "Hence," he says, "contingency," by which he seems to mean simply that we are at liberty to act as we do or otherwise, "must be allowed; and sin is not necessary, with any absolute necessity:" though how liberty is compatible with God's foreknowledge, and contingency with his determination of events, is to us incomprehensible. Here also he expressly asserts, that the will of man before the fall was "truly free"—contrary to what he had before laid down, that the predeterminations of the Creator must take away all liberty in the creature. He enters also into further distinctions, which need not here be detailed.[2] Changes in the second series of editions: 1535.

[1] So the Confession of Augsburg. Above, vol. i. 35.
[2] Edit. Wittemb. 1538. p. 65—69.

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and in the third: 1543.

In the editions of the third series, this article is tripled in extent, and considerably increased in interest. The same doctrine is maintained, but explanation, to a certain degree useful, is added on some abstruse points—on sin considered as not a distinct existence, so to speak, but as *privative*, the *want* of something which ought to accompany that existence, a *perversion* of God's work, not a substantive work of itself: on the position, that a secondary cause cannot act apart from the first cause: and on other kindred questions. The whole is intended to repel the blasphemous idea of God's being the author of moral evil; to exclude a stoical fate or necessity, extending to the conduct of either God or man; and to clear the doctrine of man's free agency. In opposition to what he calls the notions of Zeno, (the founder of the stoical or fatalist sect,) he applauds the sentiment of Plato, "That in a well-ordered state the utmost care should be used, that no such notion, as that of God's being the author of moral evil in any one, may reach the ears of either young or old, even in a poem or other fiction—for that such a sentiment is contrary to piety, mischievous to the public, and self-contradictory." He speaks, with much beauty, of God's assisting and directing us in answer to our prayers, and making us the instruments of his gracious designs towards the human race, instead of our being left, without him, to become like Pharaoh, Nero, Manichæus, and others, the authors of mischief. "Let that sentence of Christ," he says, "*Without me ye can do nothing* (good), constantly excite us to fervent prayers that we may be guided and governed by God."[1]

[1] Edit. Lips. 1546. p. 58—72. Opera, i. fo. 162—165.

A. D. 1560.

The article "on the will and powers of man," in the second class of editions, begins with a censure of the very writer whom the author had formerly defended against Eckius: "Valla and many others," he says, "improperly take away liberty from the human will, on the ground that all things happen in pursuance of the decrees of God: and thus they deny all contingency. But the question of contingency belongs not to the present inquiry into the powers of man. For here, among us who belong to the church of Christ, the question is, What is the nature of man? Can he render perfect [or spiritual] obedience to the law of God? We inquire not into the secret counsel of God, as the universal Governor: we inquire not into predestination: we treat not of things contingent in general. The discreet student will in this place put aside such discussions, and detach them entirely from the present topic. Let us look into ourselves; and remember that the subject here is—our infirmity. There is no need for us to aspire to scrutinize heavenly things, relating to the manner in which God governs the world, and to his predestination. We must take care, that what is good and useful be not overlaid and lost, amid contentions quite beside the purpose—as is apt to be the case

In citing the editions of the third period, I had contented myself with referring to that of Leipsic, 1546, 8vo; but it afterwards occurred to me, that it might be more satisfactory to use a copy of still later date. I have therefore compared, and added references to that which is given in the first volume of Melancthon's works, printed at Wittemberg, 1580; though in none of the passages which I have had occasion to adduce have I found any variation, of the slightest moment, from the edition of 1546, excepting one addition which I had previously noted from Augusti. The reader may therefore rest satisfied, that in these citations he has Melancthon's latest and most matured sentiments.

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when superfluous topics are introduced. I shall therefore briefly set forth what the scripture teaches concerning the infirmity of human nature: for this must be known in order that we may learn our need of Christ."[1]

What a growth in wisdom do we here discover! Before, he plunged at once, and led the youthful student to plunge with him, into depths which human powers could never yet fathom, and on which divine revelation has made few discoveries: now he will limit his inquiries to that knowledge of ourselves which is necessary to shew us our need of the Saviour, and will leave "secret things" to God. And accordingly we shall find, that his discussions concerning the will are nearly confined to the practical subject of *moral* liberty—whether fallen man can and will choose aright without divine grace.

Human depravity.

He proceeds, "The question is, How is the will free? that is, How can it obey the law of God? And of this question we cannot judge, without considering the extent of that sin which is born with us, or natural infirmity; nor without being aware that the law of God requires not mere external, civil actions, but a constant and perfect obedience of our whole nature. If the nature of man were not corrupt, ... all the movements of his mind would be in harmony with the law of God, as those of holy angels are: whereas, through the influence of original sin, he is involved in doubt, darkness, and errors; neither truly fears God, nor rightly trusts in him; and in short is full of vicious affections. With immediate reference to this infirmity of nature, the present inquiry is,

[1] Edit. 1538, p. 70. Ed. Augusti, p. 202.

What the will of man can perform?"—Here then, we see, the whole subject is *human depravity*, its nature and extent; and no longer any abstract, inscrutable questions concerning the compatibility of liberty in the creature with the universal controlling influence of the Creator. A. D. 1560.

To the inquiry, then, just proposed, he answers: "1. That to the human will is still left, even apart from renovation by divine grace, the power of choosing among external actions, and in some measure performing the *outward* works required by the law of God. This," he says, "is the liberty of the will which philosophers rightly attribute to man: for the inspired writings, to a certain degree, allow it him .... 2. The gospel teaches, that there exists in our nature a horrible corruption, which rebels against the law of God, and makes it impossible for us to yield a sound or entire obedience. And this corruption the will can never of itself remove....There is moreover in our nature such a blindness, that we cannot even sufficiently perceive this corruption: we know not how great is our own weakness....Man cannot, therefore, satisfy the law of God. That law requires not merely external acts, but inward purity, fear, trust, and the highest love; in short, perfect obedience; and forbids all vicious affections....Such affections of the heart, as God requires, man cannot yield without the Holy Spirit."—Though he cites scriptural proofs, he adds, "There needs no long argument to demonstrate this. Let every one consult his own breast; and reflect whether strange doubts concerning God, and great distrust of him, do not harass his mind: whether he truly fears and loves God: whether he is not tempted to quarrel with the dispensation which

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subjects our weak nature to so many calamities, and moreover suspends over it the dread of eternal punishment..... We say not these things to ensnare men's consciences, or to discourage in them the attempt to obey. On the contrary, as all our instructions are to be derived from the word of God, we must not set ourselves in opposition to that word, but use our utmost endeavours to yield obedience; fixing our eyes on the promise of the gospel, which is universal"—or holds out the unlimited offer of help to all who seek it.—"These truths themselves, also, are much better understood amid real struggles and efforts of the mind, than by mere speculative disquisitions. For in genuine conflicts, under anxiety concerning the pardon of sin, we must rouse ourselves, and look to the promise...The word of God must here be held fast. The Spirit works by means of the word.... Here we see these three causes united—the word, the Spirit, and our will; and the latter not in a state of indolence, but resisting our infirmity, or depravity."—"With respect to the virtues of godly men, though there is still great weakness, yet the will enjoys some liberty, being now assisted by the Holy Spirit."[1]

From all this it may be seen, that, however he may have receded from the high speculative ground which he formerly occupied, he has not weakened his statements of a practical doctrine like that of human depravity. In the last sentence indeed, and still more in two clauses from Basil and Chrysostom, quoted in connexion with it—"Only be willing, and God prevents you," or anticipates you, "with

Prevenient grace.

[1] Ed. 1538, p. 70—80. Augusti, 202—206.

aid"—and, "He that draws draws the willing" —it must be acknowedged, there is not that distinct avowal of "grace preventing us, that we *may have* a good will," which our Article properly exhibits: yet he adds, "God *prevents* us, calls, *moves*, assists us: let us see that we do not resist him."—On the nice and difficult subject of cöoperation he certainly appears not to have found the just mean, as our church does, which makes "cöoperation" to follow the communication of that grace which produces the "good will," not to precede it:[1] and hence he was stigmatized as a *synergist*, or one that made divine grace and human choice to conspire in the first turning of the heart to God. A. D. 1560.

In the third series of editions, this discussion is more than doubled in length: but I find little that requires to be further noted. The two sentences from Basil and Chrysostom are here introduced by the observation, "The ancients taught, that, grace *preceding* and the will *accompanying*, good works are performed."

In the editions subsequent to the year 1548, it appears, an addition of some length and importance was made. It is directed against such as convert the necessity of divine influence into an argument for sitting still, and attempting nothing, till that influence is felt powerfully inciting them to action.[2] This fatal On passive waiting for grace.

[1] "Working with us" (cöoperating) "*when we have that good will.*" Art. x.

[2] As he remarks in what may be called his latest work, which will be noticed at the close of this chapter, "The church has ever been beset with two classes of enemies, upon this subject, Pelagians" who vacate, "and enthusiasts" who abuse, the doctrine of divine influence. Opera, i. 372 (b).

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error, he observes, he had found among others beside mere careless persons, intent on indulging their lusts: in some it was at once the parent and the offspring of an indolent despondency. He sets himself to oppose it with zeal, as every faithful teacher must do; and forcibly directs against it the authoritative commands of God "to all men every where" to repent, and to believe and obey the gospel. But, in his further attempts to expose and subvert the very foundation of the error, it is to be feared that he keeps not clear of error on the opposite side. "This Manichean imagination," he says, "is a horrible falsehood: the minds of men are to be withdrawn from it, and taught that the will can do something.... There must be some cause of discrimination when Saul, for instance, is rejected and David accepted; that is, there must be some dissimilar action in the two."—That there exists some reason for even the very first difference made between one man and another, (on which all subsequent differences depend,) there can be no doubt: but, "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight," seems to be the language which best becomes us in speaking of it, and which traces the reason as far as *we* are capable of discerning it: and assuredly the humble pious mind will never be disposed to find that reason in any "betterment" (to adopt the word of an old writer,) originally existing in itself above others. Nor must we, even in order to avoid the danger of passive indolence, which may seem to arise from ascribing to God the first movement of our minds towards good, run into that of extenuating human corruption, and lay the basis of self-preference, or conceal the scriptural doctrine, "God, of his great

love wherewith he loved us," even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us." [1] A. D. 1560.

The author's concluding paragraph, however, concerning divine influences and human exertions, is wise and good. "If we try these things practically, in real life, we shall understand them better," than by any speculation concerning them. "But, since few really seek help of God, while the great majority, in a hopeless distrust of him, have recourse to human counsels; hence they remain strangers to the promise and benefit of Christ. But, casting away this indolence and distrust of God, and acknowledging the greatness of our miseries and dangers, let us *stir up ourselves* to true calling upon God. Thus shall we find the faithfulness of the divine promises, *Ask, and ye shall receive*, and, *The Lord is nigh to all them that call upon him in truth*." [2]

Predestination.

In connexion with the review which we have been making, it is natural to inquire what Melancthon has written directly on the subject of predestination. This appears among the proposed heads of his work in all the editions: but it is remarkable, that in those of the first series it is wholly passed over in its place—we

[1] It appears that, *subsequently* to the revision completed in 1543, an important passage was omitted, which had been found in the first editions, and which decidedly ascribed the first step in the conversion of the soul to God to prevenient grace, and not to the will of man. Edit. Augusti, 35.—In the first editions also is found an examination (which may perhaps have been transferred to another place in the later editions,) of the meaning of the term *flesh* in the New Testament, shewing that it includes every thing belonging to man without the Spirit of God—"all the best and most excellent powers of mere nature—the specious virtue of Socrates and Cato, as well as the parricides of Cæsar."—Ib. 26, 27.

[2] Ed. Augusti, 212, 213.

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may conclude, as having already received such notice as the author thought proper to bestow upon it, in the parts which have been considered. The editions of the second series discuss it at some length; and those of the third materially enlarge the discussion:[1] but it would seem rather to have been the author's wish to avoid those points of the question (relating to individual election or rejection,) which have caused so much controversy, than to deliver an opinion upon them. 'All who repent and believe the gospel are unquestionably God's elect—not for their own worthiness, but for Christ's merits: by seeing to it that we so repent and believe, we may know our own election: but in no other way can any thing be known about it.' This I give, not as the very words of the author, but as the substance of what he has delivered on the subject: and no doubt this is all excellent practical instruction; but it is such as rather evades the question than meets it.—Are our repentance, faith, and obedience the *causes* or the *consequences* of our election of God? This is the real question at issue between those who are called Calvinists, on the one hand, and Arminians, on the other: and on this Melancthon delivers no explicit opinion. In a modern writer, at least, we should judge that his language implied the former sentiment rather than the latter[2]—That the cause of reprobation or rejection is sin, he expressly lays down: but this decides nothing

[1] Ed. 1538, p. 228—233. Ed. 1546, p. 463—475. Op. i. 256—259.

[2] The reader will sometimes feel surprised that the very language which Melancthon uses would allow him to stop where he did. "For this reason we are elect, (or elected,) because we *are made* (efficimur) members of Christ."

concerning his sentiments on the other question; for all sober-minded and intelligent persons on *both* sides in the argument here agree with him.—The *sum* of the doctrine, in his view of it, is, That God has ever had, and will ever have a church collected from among men, which he will bless, preserve, and save; and he considers the *use* of it as being to give us assurance of this fact.—The great lesson of the ixth chapter of Romans he understands to be, to declare the fallacy of all such assumptions as were made in the apostles' days by the Jewish priests and others, and in later times by the Roman pontiffs and clergy, that, because of their succession and place in the *visible* church, they were the *true* church of Christ, and, together with those who adhered to them, exclusively heirs of the promises.—In short, I must confess, that to me many of his observations on the scriptural passages, which he adduces, appear extremely vague, and some of them little coherent in their several parts. Thus he remarks on Philippians ii. 13, "God draws our minds that they *may be willing*; but it behoves us to yield to his drawing, [that is to be willing,] and not to resist it." On Romans viii. 30, "God chooses us, *because* he has determined to call us to the knowledge of his Son.... He approves therefore, and chooses them that obey the call." —Certainly such observations will never advance us towards a decision of the disputed question.[1]

A. D. 1560.

1 Having so far evidently leaned, in the text, towards what is called the Calvinistic side of this question, I would here remark, that I never could find any satisfaction in the explanations furnished on the other side, 1. of the origin of spiritual good in fallen man, and, 2. of the principal scriptural passages on the subject of election. On the con-

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But no one can justly complain of the spirit of Melancthon, even where he may differ from his sentiments. He thus draws his discussion of predestination to a conclusion. "There is great darkness in the minds of men in their thoughts concerning God; and, without divine illumination, they are commonly involved in either Epicurean or Stoical imaginations. A great part of mankind conceive of God as not minding us or our affairs: while others feign to themselves a Deity sitting in the heavens, writing the laws of destiny on tablets of the Parcæ, (or fates,) and assigning to men virtues or vices by a sort of inevitable necessity.[1] But let us chase away these dreams of human ignorance, and turn to the testimony of God: whence we shall learn that God is a perfectly free agent; that he wills only good and not sin; that he has expressed this his will, and confirmed it by a thousand proofs; that he has placed us under the gospel of his grace, in which Christ says, *Come unto me, all ye that*

trary, Arminian expositors, more than any other writers, drive me towards the Calvinistic sense.—At the same time, I so deeply feel the difficulties, both scriptural and practical, on this side of the question, as well as on the other, that I am little disposed to obtrude the subject on those who are willing to pass it over in silence. I admire, and would adopt the words of the wise and holy martyr, bishop Ridley—"In these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea almost none otherwise, than the very text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand."

[1] The latter clause is evidently spoken, not of pious men holding the doctrine of the divine predestination, but of persons "without divine illumination"—"curious and carnal persons," as our Article speaks, "lacking the Spirit of Christ"—"having continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination," in such a manner as to make it "a dangerous downfall," "either into desperation, or into recklessness" of their conduct.

labour and are heavy-laden, and I will refresh you. Freely and faithfully, according to his promise, God receives those that fly to his beloved Son, while he suffers those that despise *him* to fall under his dreadful anger." A. D. 1560.

Passages from Melancthon's letters, on the subject.

We will here collect a few passages from our author's familiar epistles, tending still further to shew what were his sentiments and feelings at different stages of his progress.

To Brentius, about the year 1533. "You ingeniously, and by inferences from predestination, collect, that to every one is assigned his own proper place," or "degree,"[1] whether of grace or glory: "and you reason rightly. But in the whole of my Apology[2] I avoided that long and inextricable question of predestination. I every where speak as if predestination followed our faith and works.[3] And I do this designedly: for I have no wish to entangle men's consciences in those endless labyrinths."[4]

To the same, 1538. "The bookseller wishes to publish my second exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, though it differs not at all from the former.[5] I say the same things, and almost in the same manner. I wish not to originate new dogmas, but to preserve the same simple and consistent doctrine as I follow

[1] I had at first understood him to mean, that Brentius had "kept aloof from predestination:" but, from his apparently *contrasting* his own course with that of his friend, I have been led to the translation which I have given of words perhaps somewhat ambiguous: "Tu subtiliter et procul ex prædestinatione colligis cuilibet suum gradum distributum esse, et rectè ratiocinaris."

[2] The Defence of the Confession, I presume.

[3] I suppose he would concur with those who refer such passages as Rom. xi. 5, 6, to some other subject than individual salvation.

[4] Epist. vi. p. 379.

[5] First published in 1522.

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in my Common Places,' and as I before followed on the Romans. But, though I know that some love harsher (horridiora) sentiments on some points, under the heads of predestination, contingency, and other topics, yet I judge what I write to be both true and useful. I so temper things, however, that I hope not to offend those who maintain severer tenets—*morosiores* . . . . . I see that time has softened some who censured me for not speaking more harshly (horridè) on these subjects."[1]

To Vitus Theodorus, 1537. "You know that I speak less harshly on the subjects of predestination, the consent of the will, the necessity of obedience,[2] and mortal sin. On all these points, however, I know that Luther substantially *(re ipsâ)* agrees with me: but some ill-informed persons are too fond of certain more bold expressions of his; (φορτικώτερα, onerosiora, arrogantiora;) not perceiving their tendency. I enter into no controversies with them: let them enjoy their own judgments: but then let them allow me, as a Peripatetic,[3] and fond of moderation, to speak less like a Stoic.—You have here the sum of the whole business."[4]

1547. "I am no Stoic, and I contend more valiantly against the school of Zeno, on the subject of fate, than our warriors have lately contended on the Danube and the Elbe. I am of opinion that our present calamities have not

[1] Epist. vi. p. 385-6. [2] Above p. 125.

[3] "At first Melancthon united with Luther in condemning Aristotle . . . . but he very soon altered his opinion," &c. He "attempted the revival of the pure peripatetic philosophy, though he agreed with Luther on the subject of the scholastic system." Cox, p. 48 &c. 2*d. edit.*—See also Bayle, art. *Melancthon.* [4] Epist. vi. p. 444-5.

come upon us through any Stoical necessity. They have been drawn down by causes which we long ago observed, while our people were indulging their vices in security and insensibility."[1] A. D. 1560.

1548. To Cranmer, in one of the letters before quoted.[2] "I could wish, as I wrote on a former occasion, that a summary of necessary doctrine, drawn up by the united counsels of learned and pious men, uninfluenced by private aims, might be published, and that no ambiguities might be bequeathed to posterity, to serve as the apple of discord among them.... I beseech you think of such a measure.... Among ourselves, in our early days, discussions, of too harsh (horrida) and Stoical a cast, concerning fate, were carried on: which proved injurious to good order."[3]

To Peucer, without date. I am informed, "that at Geneva such fierce contests are carried on on the subject of Stoical necessity, that one person has been shut up in prison for differing from Zeno![4] Oh, how is it to be lamented,

[1] Epist. ii. 347. [2] Above, p. 155. [3] Epist iii. 42.

[4] On these passages the reader may be referred to Dr. Milner, v. 334. (924). The predestination of Calvin, cannot fairly be confounded with the fate of Zeno. May I be allowed to refer to a section on the distinction between them, in Works of the Rev. T. Scott, viii. 259—266.—In addition to the papers of Melancthon here quoted, the Consilia, under the year 1549, (ii. 110—115,) contain two, against "the fatal necessity of the Stoics;" maintaining that the Divine Being is a perfectly free agent, and that he "neither wills, nor approves, nor causes sin." The author adduces a sentence cited by one of the interpreters of P. Lombard, which may shew the absurd and profane reasonings in which some speculators indulged. It asserted that, "though God, as a cause, assists men in sinful acts, he does not sin himself, *because* he is above law, and may do what he will!" Melancthon justly exclaims with horror against a sentiment, so

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that the salutary doctrine of the gospel should be obscured by disquisitions which are foreign to it! But let us pray the Son of God to direct us."[1]

1559. "A brave warrior in Homer wishes for peace in these terms, 'May contention perish from among both gods and men!' How much more does it become me, an infirm old man, to wish for peace!—Thirty years ago, not from the love of dispute, but for the glory of God, and for the sake of wholesome discipline, I censured the Stoical paradoxes concerning necessity—for they are dishonourable to God and injurious to morals. But, in what sentiments anxious minds may repose, I have explained in my Answers to the Bavarian Inquisition."[2]

Real amount of the changes made by Melancthon.

The attentive reader will perceive that I have stated a greater change of opinion in Melancthon on some points, than from Dr. Milner's account he might have been led to expect. But it may perhaps be questioned whether that learned writer, at the time of his last publication, had accomplished that accurate comparison of the different editions of the Common Places which he contemplated.[3] And, after all, when the case is fairly considered, the difference between our accounts will not be found so important as it might at first sight appear. Dr. M. urges in opposition to the idea of any material change having taken place in Melancthon's sentiments, 1. A letter of his to Erasmus, in which he "very clearly intimates that he

remote from, so directly opposed to, the high and holy doctrine of scripture, that moral evil is impossible to the Blessed God, not because of his greatness, but because of the absolute and immutable holiness of his nature.

[1] Epist. ii. 416. [2] Epist. ii. 347. [3] See note above, p. 183.

still continued in the same sentiments with Luther:" 2. His defence of himself against Flacius in the year 1549,[1] in which he says, "I am still of the same opinion that I was when I wrote my Theological Tracts:" 3. That, notwithstanding any concessions which either he or Luther had made, "both these eminent reformers are uniformly steady in asserting the great practical doctrine of original sin, and the natural enmity of the human heart to the holy law of God:" 4. A letter of his to Calvin in the year 1543,[2] in which, after exhibiting rather the views of the later editions of his work, than those of the early ones, he says, "I am satisfied that these views of mine agree with your's; but they are stated in a ruder or less refined manner."[3] Now, if we consider the precise points to which the changes in question were restricted, or nearly restricted, I trust we shall find that these representations are not inconsistent with the facts before us. A. D. 1560.

Let then the two very distinct senses in which the term *freedom of the will* is used, the two totally different subjects to which it has been shewn that it is applied, be considered,—the one referring only to the great practical question of human depravity, the other to the

[1] See Epist. i. 10, or Consil. ii. 105.

[2] The very year when the last great revision of the Common Places was published.

[3] Milner, v. 330—333. (921—923.) It is to be observed, that Melancthon kept up a most friendly correspondence with Calvin ("amicissimum per literas commercium," Hane ii. 151.) to the end of his life. He addresses him, "Reverende vir et carissime frater," in the year 1557. (Epist. vi. p. 323.) We might further adduce the fact, before mentioned, of Calvin's prefixing a preface to a French version of Melancthon's Common Places, in 1551, but that our information respecting it is imperfect.—Augusti, 174.

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abstruse, metaphysical, and to us incomprehensible one, of the compatibility of the Creator's universal controlling influence with the creature's free agency; and let it be remembered that Melancthon's alteration of views related mainly to the latter of these subjects; while he still asserted the corruption of fallen man, and the necessity of divine grace to his recovery, in nearly as strong terms as ever: and we shall then find little difficulty in understanding his declarations, that his views of Christian truth were unchanged, and that he taught substantially the same doctrine as Calvin himself did. Dr. Milner's positions will here fully hold good—that Melancthon never materially altered his sentiments "on the bondage of the will, *or what is the very same thing, on the propensity of human nature to evil:*" and again, that "in the grand Christian article of original sin, and the total inability of man, and the necessity of the renovating grace of Christ, Melancthon was as sound and as steady as Luther himself; though perhaps he did not on all occasions grasp his objects with the force and the distinctness of his master."[1]

How far Luther concurred in them.

Only one further point remains to be considered, namely, how far Luther concurred with his friend, or differed from him, in this mitigation, this softening down of his sentiments on the subjects in question. Now, in the first place, though in his work on the Bondage of the Will (published in the year 1525,) Luther avows the same high doctrine as Melancthon had done, concerning "the divine predestination taking away all liberty" in the creature, and

[1] Milner, v. 333. (924.)

countenances some most objectionable statements concerning God's "working both good and evil in us,"[1] yet these subjects come but incidentally in his way, his book being in effect, a treatise on human depravity. "The doctrine maintained by Luther," Dr. Milner says, "cannot, I think, be comprehended and expressed in fewer or clearer words than those of our church; namely, that, *as fallen creatures*, we 'have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God," &c.[2]—Nor have I observed any thing of that exceptionable kind in his later works.—Again, as has already been remarked, Luther left no recorded disapprobation of the changes in Melancthon's work, which were clear and decisive upon these high points. On the contrary, he continued to the last to bestow upon it unqualified commendation. —Thirdly, That he did ever mean to attach so strong a sense to the passages which occur on these subjects, in his early work, as we are apt to put upon them, may well be doubted from his remark on Erasmus's threefold statement of the doctrine under discussion between himself and Luther. "Some," says Erasmus, "affirm that a man can neither begin, carry on, nor finish any good thing, without the

A. D. 1560.

[1] After reading over Luther's work itself, I can hardly concur in the sentiment of Dr. Milner, that Melancthon's "expressions on the subject of predestination—certainly are more exceptionable, because less guarded, and more liable to abuse, than any thing advanced by Luther on this difficult article of religion." Milner, v. 334. (925.)—By the most obnoxious language, however, of God's "working evil in us," as well as good, I am willing to hope that these authors mean nothing more than God's unceasing energy keeping every creature in life and action, each (as they speak,) according to its own nature.

[2] Ib. 274. (862.)

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continual aid of divine grace....Others, whose opinion is more objectionable, contend that the will can do evil only, and that grace performs all the good....But the most objectionable sentiment of all is, to call free will an empty name, and to say it is of no avail, either before grace or after it; for that God works both the good and the evil in us, and that all things are absolutely necessary." Now what is Luther's remark on this statement made by Erasmus? He says, "You make three opinions here, when in reality, as far as I am concerned, there is but one....I call God to witness, that *I intended the terms used in the two latter opinions, neither to convey or intimate any sentiment different from what is expressed in the first opinion.*"[1] This is much to be remarked.—Lastly, it can hardly have failed to be observed, how very undefined, how popular and almost entirely practical, are all those passages which have been adduced, either by Dr. Milner or myself, from this great reformer's writings, on the subject of the predestination of men to eternal life.[2] In fact, both he and Melancthon but sparingly apply the doctrine to the great and awful subject of human salvation, to which in modern times we are apt almost exclusively to apply it. The term predestination, seems, in the apprehension of numbers, synonimous or nearly synonimous with election or its opposite; though it is obvious that the former term has an unlimited extent, while the latter is confined to one particular subject: and it is in the wide view, rather than the restricted one, that both Luther

[1] In Milner, v. 277-8. (865.)

[2] See Milner, v. 329, 514—518. (919, 1114, &c.) Continuation, i. 241, 333-4.

and Melancthon seem chiefly to contemplate the doctrine. A. D. 1560.

We may now then be prepared to form some judgment of the ground which exists for Dr. Maclaine's assertion, that "the doctrines of absolute predestination, irresistible grace, and human impotence were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy, by any divine, than they were by Luther."[1] As applied to all his writings subsequent, at least, to the year 1530, I oppose to it the testimony of Dr. Milner, confirmed by all which has come under my own notice: "The Saxon theologian, though he denied, as we have repeatedly seen, the existence of all human ability to save a lost sinner, as also the efficacy of all human qualifications to merit reward; and though he ascribed salvation to grace alone, and to the merciful will of God; yet, on the delicate question of predestination, he ever displayed that moderation by which his mind was uniformly influenced upon all doctrinal inquiries *except one*;[2] and, content with what scripture had revealed, he never undertook to explain this difficult subject with any thing like a systematical precision; much less did he ever think proper to propose the arduous speculations concerning the divine decrees as necessary articles of a Christian's faith."[3]—But we gladly turn to topics on which pious Christians are more generally agreed. Dr. Maclaine's unfounded statement.

On the subject of "sin, original and actual," I find no material difference in the doctrine of the different editions of Melancthon's work. The omission of a few harsh expressions, and of all Melancthon on Sin,

[1] In Mosheim, iv. 40.
[2] "Consubstantiation."
[3] Milner, v. 515-6. (1115-6.)

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allusion to the *necessity* which had been taught under the former head in the early copies, seems to be the sum of the changes made, except in the way of enlargement. My selections therefore will be taken from the last class of editions, both as exhibiting the author's latest statements, and as carrying most weight to those who would fain believe that Melancthon relaxed in his doctrines generally.

In the opening of this topic he remarks the difference between the instructions of divine revelation concerning sin, and those of philosophy. "Though all nations are sensible of the horrible disorders, the vices and the calamities of the human race, and thus feel the burden of sin, yet the church of God alone teaches whence sin comes, what is its nature, and what its consequences—in the anger of God, and the punishments, both temporal and eternal, proceeding from it. And, though human wisdom may direct men's conduct, and reprobate and punish things done contrary to the dictates of reason, yet it has no perception of what specially belongs to sin, namely, guilt before God, or exposure to his wrath. Alexander felt that he had done amiss in killing his friend Clitus, and lamented the outrage he had committed upon the dictates of nature: but he grieved not for having offended God, and for the guilt he had contracted in *his* sight. But the church declares the anger of God against sin, and shews it to be a far greater evil than human reason supposes.—Nor does the church of Christ condemn only external acts at variance with the word of God, or with reason, as philosophy does: she extends her condemnation equally to the root and to all the fruits of sin—to the darkness of the mind, and its doubts

concerning the divine will;[1] to the aversion of the human will from God, and the rebellion of the heart against his law; and particularly also to ignorance and contempt of the Son of God. These are sad and atrocious evils, the enormity of which cannot be told. Therefore Christ says, The Holy Spirit shall *convince the world of sin—because they believe not on me.*"[2] A. D. 1560.

With respect to *original sin*, three points have been distinguished:[3] 1. "The fault and corruption of the nature of every man engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined unto evil:"[4] 2. The criminality, or "desert of God's wrath and damnation,"[4] which this corrupt disposition necessarily carries with it: and, 3. The direct imputation of the guilt of Adam's transgression to his posterity. On the last point, as distinguished from the other two, it may be observed, our Article is silent: but it appears that the theologians, whose errors the reformers had to oppose, *confined* original sin to the last of these particulars only; made "the infection of nature" to be *exclusively* the *punishment* of Adam's sin; and denied that it was itself *sinful*, involving in it guilt, or desert of punishment.[5]—These observations may throw light both on our Church Article, and on the passages which follow from Melancthon. original,

[1] These he considers as proceeding from the effects of the fall in blinding and confusing the understanding.

[2] Edit. 1546, p. 88, 89. Op. i. 169, 170.

[3] Vol. i. 32. [4] Church Art. ix.

[5] "The scholastic doctors are of opinion, that original sin is the guilt, that is the imputation, by which the posterity of Adam are guilty and condemned on account of his crime. ...They deny that it is itself sin, or a thing in its own nature

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He defines original sin (a point which has been supposed one of much nicety and difficulty,) to be, "The want of original righteousness; that is, it is in every one born of the human race the loss of light in the understanding, aversion of the will from God, and rebellion of the heart against the divine law, following upon the fall of Adam; on account of which corruption men are born guilty, and children of wrath, that is condemned by God—unless remission of sin take place."—He adds, "If any one imagines that original sin is *merely guilt*, incurred by the fall of Adam, without *depravity* in ourselves, he errs. But, if any one contends that we are guilty from our birth, *both* on account of Adam's fall and of our own innate depravity, I have no objection to his adding that particular to the definition."[1]

He then gives proofs from scripture. We will quote some of his remarks on two or three passages.

Romans v. "*By the offence of one all are dead.* On account of the fall of Adam therefore others are *guilty*. And, that they may not be supposed to be so without the propagation of *corruption*, it is added, *Death passed upon all, because all have sinned.*"

Romans viii. "*The carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.* This is a sad and horrible description of the human race: for the words clearly shew, that it is not actual sin

deserving condemnation. They make it the punishment of sin, and a thing intermediate," or "indifferent" in itself. —"They make concupiscence" (or "inclination to evil") "to be the punishment of sin, not sin itself."—Melanc. Loci, edit. 1538, p. 83, 86. edit. 1546, p. 95. Op. i. 171.

[1] Edit. 1546, p. 93, 94. Op. i. 170.

alone which is spoken of, but the evil inherent in our very nature, which he calls *enmity against God*.—What could be said more awful, than that the nature of man is hostile to God?[1]—that is, that he constantly carries about with him darkness and doubts concerning God; a carelessness which neglects God; a distrust of him, which shuns his presence; and complicated rebellion against him.—Secure and profane persons understand not these hidden evils of the heart; but the church acknowledges them with a broken and contrite spirit."—And afterwards, recurring to the same passage, he says, "Words cannot explain the *amplitude* of S. Paul's expression: but let the thoughts rest upon it: let us look into ourselves, and acknowledge and bewail our pollution, and fly to the gospel (the glad tidings) concerning a Mediator." A. D. 1560.

Ephesians ii. "*We were by nature children of wrath, even as others.* Children of wrath is a Hebrew phrase: it signifies guilty, or condemned. The apostle affirms, therefore, that all men, the posterity of Abraham, as well as others, are condemned; not only for their actual offences, but for that corruption of nature which we bring with us into the world—not contract from example."[2]

These, be it remembered, are the statements of him who was ever esteemed one of the very mildest of the reformers, and that at a time when his sentiments were matured, and as some imagine, greatly softened down.

[1] If it should be thought that our author has here dropped the abstract term, *enmity*—not merely *hostile* or *an enemy*—which some have insisted upon, let it be observed that both terms, and not merely one, are abstract: φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς as well as ἔχθρα.

[2] Edit. 1546, p. 95, &c. Op. i. 171.

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After citing various other scriptures, he says, "These passages shew the accordance of the prophets and the apostles. But such brief sentences appear to glide over the ears of men without making an impression. In our blindness and security, we perceive not the greatness of our danger. Men at their ease, intoxicated with pleasures, inflated with vain glory, make light of the wrath of God; and, under the influence of self-love, palliate such evils as disbelief of God—neglect of God—confidence in their own wisdom and powers—pride, ambition, and the fire of lust."[1]

Can we here again help repeating our remark on the spirit in which this learned professor teaches theology to his pupils—for to them was his work originally, at least, addressed. His lectures on each successive subject are all suited to awaken life and feeling in the heart and conscience, as well as to enlighten the understanding.

At the close of his scriptural testimonies, he observes: "The Pelagians deny the whole doctrine of original sin, and reject the very name. The moderns, as Occam and many others, retain the name, but fritter away the thing. They deny that those inward evils, which have been enumerated, are transgressions of the law of God: ... they call them only the punishments of original sin, when they are, in reality, both punishments of the fall of Adam, and sins in every person born into the world."[2]

mortal, and venial.

In speaking of *mortal and venial sins*, he says, that all sins are mortal which are not repented of—all that *reign* in us; and that by the grace

[1] Ed. 1546. p. 96, &c. Op. i. 171.
[2] Ed. 1546. p. 100. Op. i. 172.

of God in Christ none are so, which are repented of and dethroned: such are all pardoned. "But," he adds, "we are not, with the schoolmen, to extenuate venial, or pardonable sins. No: even those which are so classed are immense evils, at war with the law of God, and in their own nature mortal—that is, such as would bring upon men the eternal wrath of God, unless, for Christ's sake, they were pardoned to those who are reconciled to God through him."[1] A. D. 1560.

On falling from grace.

We must observe, that Melancthon, in this part of his work, decidedly maintains that believers may fall from grace, lose the Holy Spirit, and forfeit the favour of God—by yielding to sins which do violence to the conscience;[2] and he reckons the contrary among "stoical doctrines." Yet in the worst of cases, he observes, the fallen are never to suffer the magnitude of their offences to deter them from returning to God—"for grace superabounds above sin."[3]—Of this subject of *perseverance*, I have not observed any notice in the editions of either the first or the second period.—Though many will disagree with what our author has delivered concerning it in the editions of the last period, no pious mind can fail to be warned and edified by his remarks on the necessity of resisting the first beginnings of evil. "Saul cherished the first spark of envy, which might easily have been extinguished" by one endued, as he conceives Saul to have been, with the Holy Spirit. "Sin therefore began to reign in him: the anger of God was kindled; the Spirit was offended,

[1] Edit. 1546. p. 111, 112. Op. i. 174-5.

[2] Compare judgment of Luther, Bugenhagius, and Melancthon, in vol. i. 241.

[3] Edit. 1546. p. 112, 113. Op. i. 175.

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and driven away; and the mind of Saul, now deserted by God, becomes weak, and yields more and more to its evil passions: the devil redoubles his assaults: the murder of the priests, and many other crimes follow: till Saul destroys himself, and rushes into eternal misery.—His case is to be contemplated, that we may learn the great anger of God against sin.—Indeed all histories are full of sad examples, in reading which we should reflect thus: 'By these instances I am taught how awful a thing it is to have sin reigning in me.' —We ought daily to adopt the prayer, *Order my steps in thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me,* that I become not a vessel of wrath; that I be not rejected, like Cain, or Saul, or Judas, or Ahab, or Nero, and others who have been the curses of mankind."[1]

In the earlier editions he concludes this whole topic of *sin* with the following passage. "You have then, reader, what it seemed proper to me to say of our innate corruption. More will not be required by those who would form their sentiments rather from the reading and meditation of the word of God, than from human commentaries. No expositions can satisfy those whose minds, confounded by doubtful disputations, and the various opinions of men, relish only carnal things. The one most sure and most simple teacher is the Spirit of God, who has expressed himself clearly and distinctly in the divine word. When your mind is transformed so as to harmonize with that word, then will you with certainty, simplicity, and exactness comprehend this, and other theological topics. They who depend

[1] Edit. 1546. p. 114, 115. Op. i. 175.

not on the decision of the Spirit, but on human opinions, see not things themselves, but only indistinct and unsubstantial shadows of them. For what one among the philosophers or the school divines has discerned the real nature of virtue or vice? These false theologues measured original sin only by external works; while they were blind to the deeply seated disease within, the corruption of the heart itself. And, even when they discovered the depravity of some affections of the mind, they still remained blind to others, and particularly to those which are specially obnoxious to God —blasphemy, hatred of God, self-love, distrust of God, and innumerable others, which are so inherent in man, that, far from having their seat only in the sensitive appetite, as some pretend, they have occupied every part of our nature, and hold it in captivity."[1] A. D. 1560.

On the divine law.

No subject can be more important, and there are few on which the reformers treat more strikingly, than the law of God, considered as the instrument of the Holy Spirit in convincing men of sin, and, generally, as subservient to the gospel of Christ.

In the earlier editions of his Common Places, Melancthon had declined commenting on the decalogue, though he considered it as a most excellent summary of all the preceptive parts of scripture, presenting "a rich and sublime doctrine" worthy of our constant meditation: but in the later editions he professedly offers a commentary on each of its precepts.[2] We

[1] Edit. Augusti, 36, 37.

[2] It is remarkable, that in all the editions which I have seen, and probably therefore in the others also, he follows the Romish division of the Commandments, which drops the second, and, to keep up the number, divides the tenth into two.

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must confine ourselves to a very few general notices.

Its spirituality.

He ever keeps in mind the "spirituality" of the law, or its extending to all the thoughts and affections of the heart, and not only to the outward conduct; and its consequent utter condemnation of all those wrong tempers of the heart, towards God and towards our fellow creatures, which he had pointed out under the preceding head. In this respect, the true doctrine of the law had been utterly corrupted in the preceding ages; as in all ages, and among all sorts of persons, it is apt to fall into oblivion. "Human laws," our author observes, "require or forbid only outward actions; moral philosophy extends somewhat further, and requires right intentions: but it charges not upon us our natural impurity, nor reprehends those paramount offences against the first table of the law, doubt concerning God, a heart destitute of his fear and love, distrust of him, and the like evils inherent in the nature of fallen man.... But the law of God requires the obedience of our whole nature—a sure knowledge of God, a true and constant fear of him, firm confidence in him, ardent love for him.[1] And, because these affections are not now natural to us, the law is the voice of God condemning the sins of our nature.... But the monks have treated the law of God as

[1] It has been with no small surprise that I have found Melancthon, in his earlier days, holding the monstrous and self-contradictory notion of the love of God necessarily involving a willingness to perish for ever among his enemies, if this should be for his glory, and agreeable to his pleasure concerning us! Edit. Augusti, 29, 49. I was unwilling so to understand the first of these passages; but the second is unequivocal. All this however disappeared on the revision of his work.

a mere rule of social life. They have taught that it was satisfied by external works, and some good intention of the will—though doubts possessed the understanding, and many evil inclinations occupied the heart. These they have declared not to be sins: and hence they have pretended that men are righteous and acceptable to God for their works, because they supposed the law of God to be thus easily satisfied." [1] A. D. 1560.

and exceeding breadth.

Of the "exceeding breadth" also of the divine law, as demanding absolute *perfection* in all points, he speaks in the most unqualified manner. "It requires perfect obedience to God, and denounces his wrath, and the punishment of eternal death against those who do not yield it." [1]

On the impossibility of keeping it.

To the objection of the impossibility of man's performing such obedience, and the alleged incredibility of God's having given laws which his creatures are incapable of fulfilling, he replies by admitting the impossibility, and contending that the argument urged against it implies an entire misapprehension of the design of the Law as given to fallen man. On this subject he adduces two sentences which had been quoted from S. Jerome; "Let him be accursed, who says that God hath commanded things impossible;" and again, "Let him be accursed, who says that the law can be fulfilled without divine grace:" and on the former he remarks, "Whatever were the original occasion of this sentence, they who cite and inculcate it demonstrate, that they do not understand the purposes for which the law of God was given to man. Human wisdom

[1] Edit. 1546. p. 119, 120. Op. i. 176.
[2] Edit. 1546. p. 118. Op. i. 176.

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judges, that laws are enacted only that they may be obeyed. But the law of God was given specially for the purpose of declaring God's judgment against sin. God would have his anger (against sin) to be known: and by the voice of the law he discovers to us our sins. It was just that God should be loved with the whole heart: and, because we do not thus love him, therefore the law accuses us, and denounces wrath against us.... However offensive then it may be to human wisdom to assert, that the law of God is impossible to be performed, yet this is true concerning our fallen nature. And it is necessary that this truth be declared in the church, that the difference between the divine law and human laws may be perceived: and also that the greatness of Christ's benefit may be felt—who takes away our sins, because the law could not do it." Hence he repeatedly quotes the sentences, "The impossibility of law;"[1] "If there had been a law given which could have given life;" "By the law is the knowledge of sin;" "The law worketh wrath;" and, "The ministration of death," and "of condemnation."[2]—He adverts also to the design of the law as a rule of life to those who are reconciled to God through the Mediator: but his statements on this subject we shall notice hereafter.

Difference between the law and the gospel.

All this is closely connected with a subject on which the reformers constantly insist as of the utmost importance, but the just views of which, they asserted, had long disappeared from the church; namely, the difference be-

[1] Τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου. Rom. viii. 3.

[2] Gal. iii. 21. Rom. iii. 20. iv. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 56. 2 Cor. iii. 7, 9.—Edit. 1546, p. 86, 87, 120, 123—125, 168—170. Op. i. 169, 176, 177, 188.

tween the law and the gospel—between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. And, though we have learned from them to acknowledge the wide difference between the two, yet it is to be apprehended, that, could they return upon earth, they would renew their complaints against many of their professed followers among protestant teachers.—The law of God requires holiness of heart and life; and the gospel of Christ requires the same: yea, and there is not a precept of Christ which may not be referred to one or other of the commands of the decalogue: *it* was a summary of *his* injunctions, and *his* injunctions are an expansion of *its* precepts. Where then is the difference of the two?—The gospel indeed promises pardon and acceptance through faith: but still that faith, it is acknowledged, cannot be separated from obedience—any faith that can be so separated is unavailing: and even the law of the ten commandments speaks of "mercy" to the obedient. Where then again is the difference of the two?—Let every young divine carefully study these points, and be furnished with distinct answers to these questions, imploring of God by his Holy Spirit to grant him a right understanding of them; for he may be assured that they involve the very essence of the directions to be given to a soul anxiously inquiring the way to salvation—whatever is necessary to its peace, and to its real sanctification and obedience. Here to confound "things which differ" is to mingle heaven and earth.—But this is done whenever the gospel is considered as *a mitigated law*. 'The law, some would say, 'required *perfect*, but the gospel accepts of *sincere* obedience. *This* is the difference between them.'—Such an answer,

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it has been justly said, combines the apparently opposite errors, of pharisaism and antinomianism: the former, by teaching men to rely on their own imperfect obedience, and not simply on Christ; the latter, by making the Most Holy to require only what is imperfect—that is, to tolerate, or even sanction evil.—This answer shews, therefore, an utter misapprehension of both the law and the gospel.—'But what,' it may be asked, 'is it not true, that under the gospel persons who render a sincere, but yet imperfect obedience, shall be saved? and that those who withhold such obedience shall not be saved?' It is: but the error lies,—and a most essential error it is—in mistaking the *place* to be assigned to Christian obedience, and the *purposes* which it is to answer. It is not to take the place which perfect obedience under the law, or covenant of works, was to hold: that is, it is in no way or degree to answer the purpose of justifying us, or forming our title to eternal life. That purpose is to be answered by the "obedience unto death" of the Son of God for us, and by that exclusively: and our interest in his merits for our justification is to be attained only by faith in him—*simply receiving* the benefit which is *freely given*.—Then again, though the faith through which we are thus justified must be a "living faith," which "works by love," and *produces* obedience, yet, considered as achieving our justification, it is not properly said to *include* obedience: the obedience which it produces by no means goes before our justification, to take any part in *procuring* us that blessing, but it "follows after,"[1] to *prove* us justified.

[1] Church Art. xii.

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And in this way only is it that the gospel admits of 'sincere but imperfect obedience;' not as a substitute for the perfect obedience required by the law, (for that the merits of Christ are the real and only substitute,) but for quite another purpose—the purpose only of proving the sincerity of our faith and love—a purpose which it may well answer, though it could never satisfy any law, that the absolute holiness of the Divine Being could suffer him to promulgate. "Faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ to justification, and Christ the only garment which, being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our works, preserveth us blameless in the sight of God; before whom otherwise the weakness of our faith were cause sufficient to make us culpable—yea, to shut us from the kingdom of heaven, where nothing that is not absolute can enter."[1]

Such, we venture to affirm, are the views of our own Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy, and such those of the reformers at large. Let us now see how they are exhibited in this important work of Melancthon.[2]

[1] Hooker of Justification. § 31.

[2] If any should think that in these observations I have dwelt more on the *obedience* of Christ, as performed for our benefit, and not merely on his atoning sufferings, than Melancthon does in the following extracts; I admit that I may have done so: and in doing it I think I am borne out by the scriptures, as well as by the writings of our church, whose language is, "He for them paid their ransom by his death: He for them *fulfilled the law in his life*; so that now in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called *a fulfiller of the law.*" Yet on the precise way of stating this point I have no controversy with any man, who explicitly disclaims the idea, that, when Christ has once freed us from guilt and condemnation, we are to intitle ourselves to eternal life by our own obedience; and who from first to last ascribes

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The gospel.

"Christ has not succeeded to Moses' place, by propounding a new law, called the gospel... he only explains the law already given, because grace cannot be proclaimed without the law.... He preaches the law, because without the law sins cannot be known; and, where sin is not felt, the force and riches of grace cannot be understood. Neither the gospel can be rightly and successfully taught without the law, nor the law without the gospel."—"But, when you reflect thus, 'How great is the misery of mankind, oppressed by sin, by the wrath of God, and by death!' and when you perceive that the voice of the law is the sentence, the bond, the witness, and the announcer of God's immense wrath against sin; then always look upon the Son of God standing close at hand: consider his sacrifice, who alone sustained the wrath of God for us, bore the curse of the law, and propitiated the Father to us. Reflect on the benefit conferred by the Son—that it superabounds over sin."—"The promises of scripture are two fold. Some are annexed to the law; but they carry with them the condition of fulfilling the law. These fall in with the dictates of natural reason—that God is gracious, but to the innocent and deserving. But those who are conscious that they are unworthy and unholy can hence derive no consolation. The other kind of promises are peculiar to the gospel: and these do not carry with them that condition of having fulfilled the law, as the ground of ob-

our acceptance, and admission to heaven, to "the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith only."—We may add, that Melancthon elsewhere, expressly in answer to the objection that "the righteousness *of Christ* is no where in scripture said to be imputed to us," quotes the three texts, Rom. v. 19. 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21.—Consil. ii. 140.

taining the blessing, but propose it freely for Christ's sake. Such are the promises of the forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God, or justification, of which the gospel especially treats. If these were suspended on the condition of our fulfilling the law, so that we had to reflect, 'When I have satisfied the law, then I shall have forgiveness of sins:' in this case, despair must be the consequence. Therefore these blessings are given freely, not for our desert.—Yet some offering, some sacrifice was necessary for us: and for this cause Christ was given, and became our sacrifice, that we might be assured that we are acceptable to God for his sake.... Hence S. Paul so urgently presses upon our notice this particle, *gratis, freely. It is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure.*[1] This clause, Gratuitously, for Christ's sake, constitutes the essential difference between the gospel and the law. If we do not observe that the promise is gratuitous, doubt overhangs our minds, THE GOSPEL IS TRANSFORMED INTO THE LAW, and affords us no more assurance of forgiveness, or justification, than the law did, or even than natural reason might do....The mind's eye therefore must be fixed upon this particle, *gratis, freely.* Without this, it will find no sure consolation under genuine alarms of conscience."

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He then traces this doctrine throughout the scriptures. We can afford room for only one remark on the Psalms, which may shew the cheering, delightful views which this genuine doctrine of the gospel presented to the minds of the reformers.—"To this subject, of the

[1] Rom. iii. 24. iv. 16, &c.

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gratuitous remission of sins, are numerous other passages of the Psalms to be applied: and such an application will make those sacred songs sweet indeed to us, and full of rich consolation. If we judge the promises to depend upon our worthiness, then, when the Psalms bid us rejoice, and confide in the divine mercy, our consciences will always hold back, and urge that we are unworthy, and therefore without interest in the blessing. The mind therefore must be cheered and fortified against the distrust produced by our conscious unworthiness. But, when we perceive that reconciliation with God is promised us freely, then faith will become assured, we shall felicitate ourselves on the divine mercy, and give devout thanks to God. —But, alas! such is the infirmity of the human mind, that it cannot admit the conception of so great riches of mercy. We are so overpowered with the notion of *law*, that we cannot believe *the gospel*, or be persuaded that mercy is offered *to all*, and to all *freely*. Faith therefore must maintain a perpetual conflict against this infirmity, that our views may be raised, and that we may learn to put confidence in God, and truly to call upon him and adore him."[1]

Other passages and other parts of the work abundantly guard this doctrine against the

[1] Edit. Augusti, 70—73. Edit. 1546, p. 125, 191, 198, 227. Op. i. 178, 193, 195, 201.—To these disquisitions on the gospel and its promises he studiously subjoins, that the promise is universal, open to all without exception; and that this is specially to be noted in order to exclude "dangerous notions concerning predestination," and the "mischievous discussions which had been raised upon that subject." And this cautionary passage is found as well in the editions of the second series, (commencing eleven years before Luther's death,) as in those of a later date. Ed. 1538, p. 156. Ed. 1546, p. 200. Op. i. 195.

abuse, of imagining that any person can have truly embraced this "grace of God," and be interested in it, and yet indulge his sins: but the passages here given shew how the reformers preached the gospel, and what that doctrine was, which proved in their hands, as it had done in those of the apostles, "the power of God unto salvation" to tens of thousands. A. D. 1560.

In connexion with these exhibitions of the true doctrine of "the law and the gospel," the writer admirably exposes the errors of the papists on the subjects of supposed *counsels*, contradistinguished to *commands* of scripture, works of supererogation, monastic vows, voluntary poverty, celibacy, and chastity.[1]

The idea that man may perform obedience even *beyond* what the law of God demands, by works of supererogation, he regards as the grossest of all the impositions ever practised by Satan upon purblind mortals. "This is not," he says, "a human notion, but an absolute sarcasm of the devil, mocking and deriding the blindness into which he has betrayed us; that, when God has published his law, to shew for what perfection man was created, and into what ruin he has fallen, the devil should put such an irony upon us, as to persuade us that now, in our present ruined state, we can even go beyond that law!"[2] Works of Supererogation.

[1] The fine description of true Christian chastity, as opposed to monkish impositions; with the awful exhibition of the threats and vengeance of heaven against sins of impurity, presented by this accomplished scholar, who had passed his life in schools and universities; furnishes a section well worthy of the study of young men at our universities, or in the upper forms of our public schools. Edit. 1546, p. 184—190. Op. i. 191—193.

[2] Edit. 1546, p. 122-3. Op. i. 178.

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The subject of "justification" is much more copiously discussed, and with a perfect conformity in all the various editions: but after what has been adduced both here, and in speaking of others of our author's writings, it will be quite unnecessary to recur to it.

On the nature of Faith.

The nature of "faith" is also considered at large. The great point maintained is, that faith is not a mere assent to the truths of scripture—which it is acknowledged may exist without either love or obedience—but such a realizing belief of them as duly influences the mind. Particularly, it always includes a reliance upon Christ, and on the divine mercy through him alone.

Doctrine of Assurance.

In speaking upon faith, it must here be acknowledged, as it was on a former occasion,[1] that the language of the reformers often verges too much towards making faith to consist in, or at least to include, an assurance of our own personal acceptance with God. In writing against the papists, they seem to consider a reliance upon our own works, or rather a consciousness that they will not support the reliance necessary to our repose, as the *only* obstacle to such assurance: and accordingly all their arguments for enforcing it are calculated to subvert this misplaced reliance, and to shew how firm a basis is laid for our hopes in the rich mercies of God, and the all-sufficient merits of Christ, without our own works or deservings. But here such questions as these, 'Am I indeed in Christ by faith? Is my repentance sincere, my faith living and availing?'—questions on the determination of which a well-founded assurance of our ac-

[1] Vol. i. 45-6.

ceptance with God must essentially depend, and which do not in the least trench on the only true *ground* of acceptance—seem scarcely to suggest themselves to their minds. Yet, when the same writers come to treat the questions (evidently involved in that of personal assurance) of the evidences of our faith, and the *proofs* that we are accepted of God, they do it in such a way as demonstrates that they feel the great necessity of the inquiries above stated, and are prepared to give the soundest and most satisfactory answers to them.[1] A. D. 1560.

Of all this we have a remarkable instance in Melancthon's work: and it will be the more striking as taken from the first edition, because we should not have been surprised had his statements on such a subject, at that very early period, been less discreet.

Having declared a mere historic assent to the truths of scripture, which produces no practical effect upon us, to be "mere opinion," not deserving the name of faith at all; he asks, "What then is faith?" and he answers, "A firm belief of the whole word of God:" in illustrating which description of faith, he dwells on the idea of its regarding *every part* of the divine oracles, and being duly influenced by each. Still it is obvious that such an account of faith, so far from establishing, must subvert the notion of its even including the assurance of personal acceptance; it being no part of the revealed word of God that any particular individual is in the divine favour. That must be a matter of *inference* from what is wrought in the person, as compared with the characters of the

[1] See passages from Luther on this subject, vol. i. 152, 233, 237.

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justified laid down in scripture.—He then, however, proceeds to shew, that such a faith so immediately leads to "a reliance on the free mercy of God in Christ, without any regard to our own works, whether good or evil," that the scriptures even include this reliance under the term faith. But, in doing this, he makes it abundantly evident that he means no mere otiose reliance, but that which puts itself forth in earnest "coming" to Christ, and "seeking" all the blessings of his salvation. And here it is, in displaying not only the amplitude of God's mercy in Christ, but the peace and comfort and joy which we may well derive from looking off entirely from our own unworthiness, and resting upon the divine mercy alone, that he adopts that language which would be fully understood to imply, that faith *consists* in believing that our sins are forgiven us—that God is reconciled to us personally, and that we stand fully accepted to his favour.—But let the reader proceed forward, and he will come to the following questions: "How may a man know that he is in the favour of God? Can it be known that faith exists in our hearts?" And the sum of the answers which are returned is, 1. That, simply on the ground of his own constant declarations in his word, we are to be fully assured of God's good will towards us *generally*—that he is *ready* to receive us graciously, and to love us freely. To doubt this is to distrust the veracity of God himself, and is direct unbelief.[1] But, 2. as to the

[1] So, edit. 1546, p. 233. Op. i. 203, the point to be believed is thus stated, "You are commanded to embrace the promise by faith; to be assured that God is *willing* to pardon you, and receive you; that he requires you to believe this, and in this faith to call upon him." This fatherly

question whether we have actually "received the Holy Spirit in our hearts," and are thus become in the highest sense "the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ," this is to be known, says our author, *by his fruits*. "The fruits of the Spirit attest to us that the Spirit dwelleth in us. *They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh.* Every one must be *conscious*, whether from his inmost soul he hates and abhors sin or not; whether he fears God, and trusts in God. Hypocrisy indeed aims to counterfeit the work of the Spirit: but trial shews the difference between the real grace and the false semblance of it.[1] A. D. 1560.

On Good Works.

After the topics of the Gospel, Grace, Faith, and Justification, which have been noticed, that of "Good Works" is copiously discussed; and under it are considered the five following questions: What are the works to be done—How they may be performed—In what way they are pleasing to God—Why they are to be done—And what is the distinction between the sins to be found even in true Christians, and those which mark the unrenewed.

On the first we need offer no extract. The works to be done are "all those which are any where commanded in the word of God, and of which the decalogue exhibits a summary:" only we must remember, that "the obedience of the heart," and not merely the external work, is the thing required.

On the second, "we are to know, that, when

goodness and exuberant mercy of Almighty God—his readiness freely and fully to receive into his favour all those that come to him through Christ, is a subject which the reformers ever set forth in a most beautiful and touching manner.

[1] Edit. Augusti, 91, 93, &c. 116, 121, 122.

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the alarmed conscience is comforted by faith, the Holy Spirit is at the same time given, who excites new affections in the heart, corresponding to the law of God." The gift of the Spirit, however, is not to supersede watchfulness and diligence, but to excite them, and to render them successful.

The third point can scarcely be misapprehended, if what has already passed in review be duly considered. "First the person himself is accepted to the divine favour through faith in Christ; and then his works, the fruits of faith and love, are acceptable also, through the same Saviour."

On the fourth, he observes, The reasons for which good works are to be done are "numerous—the necessity of them—their worthiness in themselves—the rewards attached to them. The *necessity* of them also is manifold, arising from the command of God—what is essentially his due—and because without obedience faith cannot be retained, or punishment avoided. The ordination of God is eternal and unchangeable, that the creature must obey the will of the Creator."

In speaking of the punishments which will assuredly follow disobedience, he notices very strikingly the consequences of the sins of David and Solomon. "All punishments," he observes, "are of wide extent: sins are often punished by other sins, and numbers become involved in the consequences: and all this may be traced to the offence of one. What crimes, what desperation, what blasphemies, what sad events did the fall of David produce! Solomon's worshipping idols was the cause of the separation of the ten tribes, which entailed discords in religion, [and even the loss of true religion,]

and perpetual wars among the people. God would have us deeply to consider such examples, that we may fear his anger, and consult for our own safety and that of others. ... Endless sins and scandals follow from one fall." A. D. 1560.

The "worthiness" of good and holy works, of which he speaks, is not their competency to procure for us remission of sins, or to recommend us to God, but their fitness for us to practise—their being "*worthy* of our vocation," tending to glorify God, and benefit our fellow creatures.

The "rewards" attached to them, though unmerited and conferred of grace alone, for the sake of the Mediator, are yet rich and glorious, both in the present life, and in that which is to come, as various scriptures demonstrate.

"Let us resist, therefore," he exhorts, "our unbelief, and perform the works appointed us: and, when we feel them to be difficult, let us stir up the spirit of faith and prayer, and look to the rewards proposed to us: let us be solicitous for the church universal, for the state under which we live, for our own salvation: and, for the sake of all these objects, let us increase our diligence in our callings, and in governing our lives according to the will of God."

On the last head, of "the sins found in the children of God," we are to observe, that they are not outward, known sins, done in despite of conscience; but the evils of the heart, which cannot be wholly expelled in the present state, and the failures and offences into which we fall through infirmity of the flesh, notwithstanding much watching and prayer; but of which we On the sins of the children of God.

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speedily repent, fly to Christ for the pardon of them, and increase our watchfulness against them.[1]

Other topics which follow are, The difference between the Old Testament and the New—The Church — Sacraments — Repentance — Confession—Predestination—Christ's kingdom — The resurrection of the dead—The spirit and the letter—Sufferings and the cross—Prayer—Magistracy and political government — Ceremonies of human appointment—The mortification of the flesh—Scandals—Christian liberty. Only a few of these need be here distinctly noticed.

On the difference between the Old Testament and the New.

In speaking on the "difference between the Old Testament and the New," he in the early editions makes use of crude and dangerous language concerning the moral law being abrogated, the gospel being without all conditions, and believers doing things agreeable to the law, "not because the law requires them, but because the Spirit naturally prompts those who are under his influence to do such things." Yet even here it is made sufficiently manifest to the attentive reader, that he means only that the law is abrogated to the believer *as a covenant* according to which he is to stand or fall, not *as a rule* which is to direct his life, and for every deviation from which he needs repentance, and pardon through the blood of Christ: and in the later editions all such language is carefully expunged, nay, the contrary of what it appeared to convey is asserted. "The ceremonial and the judicial, or civil, laws of Moses are abrogated: but those which have their foundation in the nature of things are permanent. Among

[1] Edit. 1546, p. 237—271. Op. i. 204—212.

these is the decalogue, which is the chief part of the law, for the sake of which the rest was established.... It is the eternal and unchangeable announcement of the divine mind against sin."[1] A. D. 1560.

On the subject of "the sacraments," he delivers in the main a very wise and holy doctrine. That of the Lord's supper, as Augusti observes, was so briefly noticed in the first editions, as to be "rather passed over than discussed:" but the same editor affirms, that from the author's letters of that period it appears, that, a short time before the publication of the Common Places, Melancthon's mind was not emancipated from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation —"though he would not number it among the articles of faith." In the latter part of his life, even before the death of Luther, he is said to have been much weaned from that reformer's doctrine of consubstantiation, and ready to acquiesce in more just and scriptural views, though he determined to avoid controversy upon the subject: and it is remarkable, that, in the second series of editions of the Common Places, nothing appears in the discussion of the Lord's supper, on the *mode* of Christ's presence in that sacrament; and, in the third series, nothing beyond a sentence or two from the fathers.[2] On the sacraments.

[1] Edit. 1546, p. 316. See also p. 171: "As to obedience, the law still remains in force: for the divine ordination is unchanged, that the justified must obey God." Compare p. 259.—Again, p. 253: "Let us not dream that God regards not good works: he both regards them and requires obedience, and visits wilful disobedience, contrary to conscience, with dreadful punishments, both temporal and eternal." Op. i. 222, 188, 209, 208.

[2] This is one of the topics on which Augusti exhibits the article as it stands in all the three sets of editions: pp. 218

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On the spirit and the letter.

We will conclude our review of the work with an abstract of the section on "the spirit and the letter," which will afford another specimen of the rich vein of evangelical sentiment and feeling that pervades the mind and the writings of the author.

"The *letter*," he says, "includes whatever doctrines, thoughts, habits, discipline, or good purposes exist without the Holy Spirit, that is, without the genuine fear of God, without true faith or confidence in him comforting the mind through the knowledge of Christ and communion with him.

"The *spirit*, on the other hand, signifies the Holy Spirit commencing, and by degrees perfecting, in our minds a new light, wisdom, and

—240. That of the second series appears to be the most impressive.

The Consilia of Melancthon contain some papers, written in the latter part of his life, on the questions respecting the sacrament disputed among the protestants. In 1555, he advises a friend, "in order to avoid contentions, to satisfy himself with that simplicity of language which he (Melancthon) had employed in the recent editions of his Common Places." Consil. ii. 226. In a paper addressed to the elector Palatine in 1559, he says, "It would be best in this controversy to adhere to the words of S. Paul, *The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ*, and to treat largely on the *uses* of the sacrament." The apostle, he observes, "does not say with the papists, that the nature of the bread is changed; or with those of Bremen, that the bread is the substantial body of Christ; or with others, that it is the real body of Christ; but that it is *the communion*, or that by which we become united with the body of Christ—quo fit consociatio cum corpore Christi." Ib. 379. And in another paper of the same year he recites passages in which the fathers, both Greek and Latin, had called the elements *symbols, types, signs, figures:* and he adds, that he had once availed himself of a favourable opportunity of bringing some of these passages under the notice of Luther, and was surprised to find him lend a more willing ear to them than he had expected. Ib. 384.

righteousness; a course of life pleasing to God, and animated by holy affections—fear, faith, prayer, and love, excited by his Spirit, and leading to a life passed as in his presence, and employed in his praises: in one word, as S. Peter expresses it, it is *a participation of the divine nature.* So S. Paul says, *We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.* That is, when alarmed by the wrath of God we fear, and cheered by his mercy in Christ we rejoice, and by faith repose in him, then we live to God, and walk in the light of his Spirit.—The hypocrite Saul and the regenerate David may both perform the same external works, civil or religious, ceremonial or moral: but in the one all is mere shadow and dead letter; his mind is without the fear of God, without reliance upon him or joy in him: while in the latter, whether he makes war or offers sacrifices, the fear of God, and faith in God supporting and comforting his mind, are ever present: they proceed from the Spirit of God, and are not mere fleeting shadows, but the commencement of eternal life. And these principles, derived from above, he prays to have increased in him, when he says, *Create in me a clean heart, O God*—a heart thinking rightly of God, and rightly affected towards him; *and renew a right spirit*—a firm and upright spirit—*within me*, such as no artifices of the devil, nor any Epicurean or sceptical imaginations may shake. He adds: *Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me:* govern all my thoughts and purposes: excite in me dispositions in harmony with thy law. *Restore to me the joy of thy salvation:* support me under all trials by

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thy consolations, that I may never perish, overcome by either fears or sorrows. *Uphold me by thy free Spirit;* strengthen me to bear whatever thou mayest be pleased to lay upon me, that I may never repine at thy dispensations, or, like my predecessor Saul, despair of thy mercy.—Thus he seeks, in order, illumination and the assurance of understanding, in the knowledge of God; renovation, and direction in his conduct; support and consolation under all troubles.

"Now all the acts of such a man are performed under the influence of the Spirit: they are not mere *shadow* and dead *letter*, as those of such a character as Saul are, whose religion is wholly external and insincere.

"S. Paul calls the law *the letter*, and *the ministration of death*. He means, that the law, apart from the gospel, can produce nothing beyond either the mere external morality of the philosophers, or such alarm of conscience as drives a man from God into desperation and eternal ruin. Such was the case of Saul. But the gospel is *the ministration of the Spirit*. A delightful appellation! which affirms, that by the preaching of the gospel the Holy Spirit is given. *We receive the promise of the Spirit by faith.* When alarmed consciences hear the voice of the gospel, and believe that through the Mediator they have forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit is received into the heart; new light and life are kindled there; God gives them the spirit of grace and of supplications; makes them to know that they are received into his favour, and, being so received, to call upon him, *not in oldness of the letter, but in newness of the spirit.*

"Let the doting fancies of Origen, therefore,

be exploded, who pretends that *the letter* is the grammatical sense of the ceremonies and histories of scripture, and *the spirit* its allegorical interpretation! Encouraged by this fancy of his, a licentious spirit of interpretation was introduced into the church, by which commentators acted the part of painters, drawing chimeras, and scyllas, and centaurs, according to the figments of their own brain.—But there is one natural and genuine meaning in every sentence of the prophetic and apostolic writings. This being traced out according to the ordinary rules of language, we shall find it sometimes prefiguring or exemplifying other things. Thus, in the paschal lamb we have a type of the sacrifice of Christ; and, in the history of Daniel among the lions, an exemplification of God's protection of his servants and of his whole church on many other occasions. To make these applications of what we read requires great learning, prudence, and consideration: and, after all, these interpretations and applications of scripture, if unaccompanied by the light and power of the Holy Spirit influencing the mind, will be as much dead *letter* and *shadow* as the passages themselves without explication can be. A. D. 1560.

"When S. Paul says, Romans vii, that *the law is spiritual*, he manifestly speaks of the moral law: and he does not mean that it is to be converted into allegories; but he calls it spiritual, because it treats not, like the laws of Lycurgus or Solon, of mere external conduct, but requires devout affections of the heart, and, in short, perfect obedience. And, towards all who fail of rendering this, it is the awful ministration of wrath, not for external faults alone, but for the blindness and unholi-

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ness of their hearts.—Of this dreadful judgment of God S. Paul speaks, and not of the allegories and fables of which Origen understands him. And greatly is it to be lamented, that the weighty doctrine committed exclusively to God's church, concerning the use of the law, the ministry of the gospel, faith, the gift of the Spirit, the exercises of faith in prayer and calling upon God, and the affections kindled in the heart by the Holy Spirit, should have been lost, and buried beneath these idle dreams of Origen, who misapprehended the whole subject of the spirit and the letter.

"In all ages, the whole doctrine, whether of the law or the gospel, has been to those who were not born again mere letter and fleeting shadow: it has brought with it to them no new and eternal light and life. But in all ages also the promise of the gospel has been the ministration of the Spirit to them that believe, and by faith are born again:[1]

[1] It may be worth while to notice Melancthon's use of the terms, "regenerate," and "born again;" especially as he was peculiarly studious in his use of theological language, exhorted others to be the same, and, to facilitate that object, annexed to the editions of his Common Places subsequent to the year 1552, "Definitions of Theological Terms." In his Consilia, speaking expressly of terms, he says, "The usage of the church induces me to apply the word *repentance* to the whole of *conversion*." "The terms REGENERATION, *mortification*, and *quickening*, I have transferred," therefore, "to the head of *repentance*." "If any one chooses to speak thus, 'Let there be made three parts of REGENERATION OR CONVERSION, namely, repentance, or remorse and sorrow for sin, faith, and renewed obedience,' he in effect says the same that I do." i. 658. Again: "REGENERATION or CONVERSION must be followed by corresponding effects." ii. 367. Compare ii. 141, 304-5, &c. In his Common Places, edit. 1546, p. 235, he says, "When the Holy Spirit, by means of the gospel, produces new affections, and a new life, THIS CONVERSION IS CALLED REGENERATION, John

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because, when reconciliation with God, freely granted through the Mediator, is received, and faith kindled in the mind, the Holy Spirit becomes in us the author of a new and eternal light and life. *To be spiritually minded is life and peace*.... Let us not then look for new revelations and enthusiastic phantasies, apart from the gospel; but let us rest in the promises of that divine system: and, when we do this, we may be assured that the Holy Spirit works effectually in us." [1]

Study of Melancthon's writings recommended.

Such are the writings of this admirable man, which the bigoted doctors of his own age, and of the age immediately following, succeeded in bringing into discredit.[2] Chiefly because he could not go their lengths, in maintaining that sort of doctrine of predestination which denies free agency to the creature, and makes the Creator the author of moral evil as well as good; in upholding the corporal presence of

iii, and new obedience must needs follow." Again: "In the visible church God works by the gospel, and *regenerates* many unto eternal life: but in that assembly (the visible church) there are many who are *not born again*." In the Apology for the Confession of Augsburg, he says, "What can be said of the *conversion* of a wicked man, or the manner of *regeneration*, more simply and clearly?" Edit. 1537, p. 46. Again: "Faith *regenerates* us: for by faith alone the Spirit is received." Ib. 61, 69, &c.—P. 115. "*Regeneration* is effected by the *perpetual* mortification of the old man." Here it is made synonimous with sanctification.—He even opens his latest work, on the Bavarian Articles, by saying, that "the Son of God *regenerates* many by the preaching (voce) of the gospel and by the Holy Spirit." Opera i. 362. In short, he never scruples to use the term as equivalent to conversion: nor have I ever found him restrict it to baptism or what accompanies baptism.

[1] Edit. 1546. p. 490—496. Op. i. 262—264.

[2] Augusti, p. iv.

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Christ in the sacrament; in rejecting the necessity of good works, and the obligation of obedience to the moral law; and in refusing all compliance with the will of an earthly superior in the most strictly indifferent matters connected with religion; they branded him as a deserter and betrayer of the evangelical doctrine, whose efforts tended to bring back popish errors, and to undermine the church:[1] and, from the effects of their various charges against him, his character, and still more the influence of his writings, has never yet fully recovered!—Certainly it is much to be regretted that a work, so celebrated as his Common

[1] So early as the year 1538, Armsdorf wrote to Luther, that he "cherished a viper in his bosom—meaning me," says Melancthon. During the lifetime of Luther, he also elsewhere says: "One Cordatus lately threw my book of Common Places on the ground, and stamped upon it. What would he have done with the author had he been in his power?" Another, who had asked his opinion concerning the Lord's supper, heavily accused him to the elector, because his answer was more moderate than was agreeable to his correspondent. A third, he says, "maintains that the decalogue is not to be taught in the churches." In 1555, some, by a deputation, prescribed as the preliminaries of agreement with him, that he should "acknowledge the decalogue to be abolished, should promise never to listen to any offers of reconciliation with the bishops, and never to allow that princes might order any thing in the church." He says, "I simply answered, No:" and he adds, "As the church has heretofore groaned under tyranny of another kind, so it is now oppressed by ignorant demagogues, who neither have recourse to the true sources of knowledge, nor respect discipline, nor value the exercises of piety. I cannot prevent their domination, but I will keep aloof from their society."—Some told him he aspired at a Cardinal's hat.—For these and other passages, recording the charges brought against Melancthon and his friends, see his Epistles, ii. 207. iv. 836. vi. p. 22, 403, 450. Consilia, i. 653. Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 104.

Places were at the period of the reformation, should have since fallen so much into neglect. It may be read with much advantage in any of its varied editions. That of the earliest date may now be considered as rendered, by the republication of Professor Augusti, the most accessible of the three series, and it exhibits the best corrective of the only part of its contents that was seriously objectionable, in the alteration, and virtual retractation of its obnoxious positions concerning liberty and necessity, which was made by the author himself, when more advanced in years and matured in judgment. The later editions no doubt introduce many important topics, not found in the first: but in those of the third period the work is drawn out into too great length, by which the impression is frequently weakened; while in some instances extraordinary repetitions occur. To those who have not the opportunity or the inclination to compare different copies, one of the second period, extending from the year 1535 to 1542 inclusive, would probably be found the most eligible. A. D. 1560.

Melancthon on the Bavarian Articles.

One of the latest of Melancthon's compositions has been repeatedly mentioned, of which, as he styled it "his last will," and desired to have it considered as his closing "confession of faith,"[1] the reader may wish to

[1] Above, pp. 145, 214.

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have some account. I refer to his "Answers to the impious Articles of the Bavarian Inquisition," or Inquest, written in August, 1559: but, as it appears perfectly to harmonize in sentiment with what has been here adduced from the last edition of his Common Places, a very brief notice of it may suffice. The articles referred to were thirty-one in number, all drawn up in the form of questions; which, from their nature, would appear to have been designed to detect, by tests both affirmative and negative, the most latent infection of Lutheran principles: and they are signed by five "Examiners." On Melancthon's replies to them we may remark, 1. That he no where shews a more determined hostility to popish errors, or a deeper sense of their enormity, than in this his last publication: 2. That he teaches precisely the same doctrine concerning the will, which we have been reviewing: and 3. That he is as clear and determinate as ever on the great subject of justification, and on its being by faith alone, "that is, by reliance on the Mediator." —"They," he says, "who reject the exclusive word, *only*, slide into the synecdoche of Origen or the papists."—He earnestly recommends "that modesty of mind which would humbly adhere to revealed truths, though it could not answer all the cavils raised against them:" and quotes with appprobation the sentiment of an excellent man, who said, "I believe both propositions, that there is a divine predestination, and that there is contingency, though I cannot solve what may be urged against either one or the other." He thanks God for his acquaintance with antiquity; and affirms that his sentiments upon this subject "agree with those of the sounder

writers among the ancients;" and that, even with respect to S. Augustine, "if any interpret him more harshly, they do him injustice." "Yet," he says, "at the same time I confess, that God performs many things in all his saints in such a manner that their wills are passive. But still the rule must be retained, that *faith cometh by hearing*."[1] A. D. 1560.

[1] Opera, i. fo. 360—387.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

To enter minutely into the history of this famous council would be foreign to our design: but some notice of it is necessary, and to relate certain parts of its proceedings, and to present a general view of its character and its final result, may prove both interesting and instructive.

Duration of the Council.

The whole term of the council's duration, from its commencement to its dissolution, amounted to eighteen years, extending from December 1545, to December 1563: but the time of its actual session was somewhat less than four years—more than fourteen being passed in a state of actual or virtual suspension.[1]

[1] The council was opened December 13, 1545, under the pontificate of Paul III; was translated to Bologna, March 11, 1547, where no business was transacted; and the members were dismissed, September 17, 1549. It was resumed at Trent, May 1, 1551, under Julius III: suspended on account of Maurice's expedition, April 28, 1552: restored under Pius IV, January 18, 1562: and dissolved December 4, 1563. The presidents of the first period were the cardinal-legates, di Monte, (afterwards pope Julius III,) Santa Croce, (afterwards Marcellus II,) and our countryman, Pole. Those of the second period, cardinal Crescentio, legate, and cardinal Pighino, archbishop of Siponto, and Lipoman, bishop of Verona, nuncios. Those of the third, Hercules Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, and cardinal Seripando; to whom were afterwards joined, Hosius, cardinal of Warmia, and cardinals Simoneta and Altemps; and, on the

—My examination of its history, as far as it has gone, leads me fully to concur in the sentence which Dr. Robertson has pronounced concerning it. Having described the three authors, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the accounts we have of it, Father Paul, Cardinal Pallavicini, and Vargas, a Spanish doctor of laws, who attended the imperial ambassadors at Trent, and regularly reported the transactions there to Granvelle, bishop of Arras, the emperor's chief minister, he says: "But whichsoever of these authors an intelligent person takes for his guide in forming a judgment concerning the spirit of the council, he must discover so much ambition as well as artifice among some of the members, so much ignorance and corruption among others; he must observe such a strange infusion of human policy and passions, mingled with such a scanty portion of simplicity, sanctity of manners, and love of truth;... that he will find it no easy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over this assembly, and dictated its decrees."[1] Indeed, not only more secularity, but more chicane and intrigue, more fierce contention, more that is opposite to all which ought to characterize a sacred assembly, whose professed objects were to investigate divine truth, and to purge the church from error in doctrine and corruption in manners, was found here, than in the ordinary diets and parliaments of mere worldly politicians: and it became so notorious, that the legates, who presided in it, contrived

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Its historians.

Its character.

deaths of Mantua and Seripando in March 1563, the cardinals Moronè and Navaggiero—all holding a legatine commission.

[1] Robertson's Charles V, iv. 77.

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to manage every thing in subservience to the court of Rome, and to receive from thence the decisions which the council was to sanction, as to give currency to a somewhat profane sarcasm, importing that the spirit which guided the council descended not from heaven, but was periodically transmitted from Rome by the most ordinary modes of conveyance.

Its general result.

On the general result and effect of the council, Father Paul has the following striking sentence in the very opening of his history. "I will relate the causes and management of an ecclesiastical convocation, by some, for divers ends and by divers means, sought after and solicited, by others hindered and deferred, for twenty-two years; and for eighteen more sometimes assembled, [illegible]ctimes suspended, and always celebrated [illegible]divers intentions; and which acquired [illegible], and attained a conclusion, altogether contrary to the design of those who procured it, and the fear of those who, with all diligence, obstructed it:—a clear instruction to us to refer ourselves to God, and not to trust in the wisdom of man. For this council, desired and procured by godly men to reunite the church, which had begun to be divided, hath so established the schism, and made the parties so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcileable: demanded by princes for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, it hath caused the greatest derangement in the church that ever was since Christianity began: hoped for by bishops as the means of regaining the episcopal authority, which had been mainly usurped by the pope, it hath made them lose it altogether, and brought them into greater servitude. On the contrary, feared and avoided by the see of Rome, as a potent means

to moderate the exorbitant power which that see had acquired from small beginnings, but by degrees had advanced to an unlimited excess, it hath so established and confirmed the same, over that part which remains subject to it, that it was never so great, or so soundly rooted."[1] A. D. 1546.

What particularly distinguished this council was, its undertaking to fix the doctrines and the observances of the Romish church, in a more accurate manner than had ever before been attempted. Doctrines, which had hitherto been considered as mere private opinions, open to discussion, were now absurdly made articles of faith, and required to be received on pain of excommunication. Rites, which had formerly been observed only in deference to custom supposed to be ancient, were established by the decrees of the church, and declared to be essential parts of its worship. Thus the breach, instead of being closed, was widened and made irreparable. Yet still, says Mosheim, "those who expect to derive from the decrees of the council of Trent, and the compendious confession of faith, which was drawn up by order of Pius IV, a clear, complete, and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed...Many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that reigned in the church....Several tenets are omitted which no Roman catholic is allowed to call in question;....and several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner, than that in which they appear in the daily service

Its attempt to fix the doctrines and rites of the church.

[1] F. Paul, 1, 2. Courayer, i. 4.

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of the church, and in the public practice of its members."[1]

Gives the most favourable view of them.

From these statements it may be concluded, that the view presented of the Roman catholic religion by these documents—the most authentic, notwithstanding their deficiencies and imperfections, to which we can appeal—is the *least unfavourable* of which it is capable, and that the attempts frequently made[2] to soften down the Romish doctrines and practices, even much below this standard, are fallacious, and do really pervert the truth of the case.

Its decrees partially received.

The decrees of the council, it is further to be observed, were never fully received by many of the communities in union with the Roman catholic church. Germany, Poland, and Italy adopted them implicitly. In France and Hungary their authority was never publicly acknowledged. Even in the Spanish dominions it was long resisted; and it was finally admitted only so far as it might not be "prejudicial to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain."[3]

Order of proceedings.

Respecting the order of proceeding in the council, it may be proper to state, that all matters to be brought before the assembly, and the decisions to be made upon them, were first prepared in 'congregations,' or committees, appointed for the purpose; where the bishops, who, as Father Paul says, were "mostly lawyers (canonists) or learned men of the court," who knew little of the "crabbed school points,"[4] were assisted, and to a great degree guided, by divines who had no vote in the council. After the decisions, which it might be expedient to adopt, had thus been considered in the com-

[1] Mosheim, iii. 451—454. Robertson, iv. 75.
[2] Bossuet, C. Butler, &c. [3] Mosh. iii. 452-3.
[4] F. Paul, 168-9.

mittees, they were next discussed in a general congregation: and, not till the decrees to be passed had been there agreed upon, were they successively brought before the council in open session. By this arrangement the indecorum of debate, and of discordancy of opinion in an infallible assembly, was avoided, or at least was screened from the public eye.[1] A. D. 1546.

The decisions of the council on several important subjects—traditions, the apocrypha, the Vulgate version of the scriptures, and in some degree that on original sin—have been already noticed in this work:[2] but some things which passed in the discussion of those articles, as recorded by Father Paul, and confirmed by Du Pin, who had had the opportunity of considering the corrections of that great author's representations, which had been offered by subsequent writers, may well deserve the reader's attention.

Traditions

On the first of the subjects just recited, Father Paul informs us, "All agreed that the Christian faith is contained partly in the scriptures and partly in traditions;....and some said more, that tradition was the *only* foundation of the catholic doctrine,....for the scripture receiveth authority from it, according to the famous saying of S. Augustine, 'I would not have believed the gospel, if the authority of the church had not compelled me.'"[3] Marinarus, a Carmelite, even asserted, "that the church

[1] Sleidan, F. Paul, &c. [2] Vol. i. 422-3, 442-3.

[3] Chillingworth, Rel. of Prot. c. ii. § 97, &c. and Stillingfleet, Rational Grounds, c. vii. § 9, have fully considered this sentence of Augustine.—Does he mean any thing more, than that from the church he had learned what books were written by the apostles and inspired men, and what not; and that he felt "compelled" to receive whatever he found in the former?

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was more perfect before any of the apostles wrote; and that, if they had not written at all, the church would have wanted nothing of its perfection." This person, however, wished to have no determination made on the subject, as the Lutherans had raised no controversies about it. But cardinal Pole held, that, "if they had yet raised no controversy upon it, it was time to raise it now; for that it was necessary that the protestants should receive *all* the Roman catholic doctrine, or that as many of their errors as possible should be detected, the more to make it manifest to the world that no agreement could be made with them."—In the end, "it was approved by all, *that the traditions should be received as of equal authority with the scriptures.*"[1]

and the Apocrypha made equal with Scripture.

On the canon of scripture, considerable difficulty was felt about making a catalogue of the authoritative books. Some would have made a threefold distinction, between the books which had been always acknowledged as inspired—those which had been for some time doubted, but subsequently admitted—and those of which there never had been any certainty, meaning the apocrypha. It was finally agreed to make all the books, apocryphal as well as others, "*of equal authority.*"[2]

Cajetan and others on the original and translated Scriptures.

In discussing the subject of the translation, the authority of cardinal Cajetan was appealed to, "to whom there was no prelate or person in the council who would not yield in learning." When going legate into Germany in the year 1523, the cardinal, "studying how those that erred might best be reduced to the church, and

[1] F. Paul, 141—143, 145. Courayer, i. 236—239, 242. Du Pin, vii. 12, 13.

[2] F. P. 145. C. i. 243. D. P. vii. 13.

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the arch-heretics convinced, found the true remedy to be, the literal meaning of the text of scripture in the original tongues: and all the residue of his life, which was eleven years, he gave himself only to the study of the scripture, expounding not the Latin translation, but the Hebrew roots of the Old, and the Greek of the New Testament:[1] in which tongues having no knowledge himself, he employed men of understanding, who construed to him the text word by word. He was wont also to say, that 'to understand the Latin text was not to understand the infallible word of God, but the word of the translator, subject and liable to error.' And he added, that Jerome spake well, that 'to prophesy and to write holy books proceeded from the Holy Ghost; but to translate them into another tongue was a work of human skill.'" A canon was also quoted, which commands to examine the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew, and those of the New Testament by the Greek.—"On the contrary, the major part of the divines said, that it was necessary to account that translation, which formerly hath been read in the churches and used in the schools, to be divine and authentic; otherwise they would yield the cause to the Lutherans, and open the gate to innumerable heresies:....that, if every one had liberty to examine whether passages, on which the doctrine of the church is founded, were well translated, running to other translations, and seeking how it was in the original, these new grammarians would confound all, and would

[1] "The scriptural simplicity which characterizes the commentaries of cardinal Cajetan, and a few others, forms a striking contrast to the writings of the scholastic divines who preceded them." M'Crie's Italy, 48.

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be made judges and arbiters of faith; and, instead of divines and canonists, pedants would be preferred to be bishops and cardinals. The inquisitors also would not be able to proceed against the Lutherans, in case they knew not Hebrew and Greek, because the latter would suddenly answer, The text is not so: the translation is false." "Others added, that, if the providence of God gave the authentic scriptures to the synagogue, and an authentic New Testament to the Greeks, it cannot be said, without derogation to the church of Rome—more beloved than the rest—that it wanted this great benefit: and therefore we ought to believe, that the same Holy Ghost, who did dictate the sacred books, had dictated also that translation which was to serve the church of Rome."

Vulgate version declared authentic and canonical.

In the end, the Vulgate version was declared authentic and canonical by almost general consent; "the discourse," says Father Paul, "having made deep impression on their minds, that grammarians would take upon them to teach bishops and divines." A correct edition, however, was ordered to be prepared; and the decision of the council was explained to mean, "not that men were forbidden to have recourse to the original, but only to say that there were errors of faith in the translation for which it ought to be rejected."[1]

[1] F. Paul, 145—148, 150, 152. Cour. i. 243, &c. Du Pin, vii. 13—15. Notwithstanding this decree, the fathers, on a subsequent question, finding a passage in the vulgate stand in the way of the conclusion to which they wished to come, argued, "that the translation did deceive," and "that it was not fit to ground an article of faith on an error of an interpreter." "Thus," observes F. Paul, "did the same men who had made the Vulgate version authentic speak of it; which every one may observe out of the books printed by them." p. 194.

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On the subject of the exposition of scripture some very curious sentiments were delivered. "That anciently it was allowed to write upon the holy books, because but few expositions existed: but that in later times the schoolmen, seeing the scripture was abundantly explained, and that men were inclined to disputation, thought good to employ them in examining Aristotle, to keep the holy scriptures in reverence. And this was carried so far, that Richard Mans, a Franciscan, said, that "the doctrines of faith were so cleared, that we ought no more to learn them out of scripture, ... which was now read in the church only for devotion,[1] and ought to serve men for this end only, and not for study: and that this should be the reverence and worship due from every one to the word of God. At least, the studying of it should be prohibited to all that were not first confirmed in the school divinity: and that the Lutherans gained not but upon those that studied the scriptures."—On this subject the council concurred in the sentiments of cardinal Pacheco, that there was no need to add any thing to what had been already published by pious and learned men; "that all the new heresies sprang from the new expositions of scripture; and that it was necessary to bridle the petulance of moderns, and to make men content to be governed by the ancients and the church."[2]

Exposition of scripture.

In the fourth session of the council, therefore, held April 8, 1546, two decrees were passed, denouncing anathemas on those who "despised traditions," or "received not for sacred and canonical all the books of scripture, and all

Decrees of Session IV, on Traditions, the Canon, and the Vulgate, April 8.

[1] "As a form of prayer." Cour. i. 243.

[2] F. Paul, 148—150. Cour. i. 247—251. Du Pin, vi. 15, 16.

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things contained therein, according to the Vulgate version;" and forbidding any "to explain the scriptures, in things relating to faith and manners, contrary to the sense which our holy mother the church has held, and does hold—to whom only it appertaineth to judge of the sense and interpretation of scripture; or contrary to the unanimous doctrine of the fathers; though it should be without any design to make such explanation public."[1]

Right of preaching.

It had been settled, that reformation in matters of discipline and practice should go hand in hand with the determination of questions of doctrine. Under this head "terrible controversies" arose in the council, between the bishops and the regulars, on the subject of preaching and reading lectures—a question, says Father Paul, "not of opinions but of profit." The performance of these services had been almost engrossed by the monks and friars, by privilege granted them from the pope, and held independently of the bishops. The latter reclaimed the right of licensing those who should preach: but the pope saw that by granting this he should lose his power, and that the bishops would become "popes in their respective dioceses."[2] The result was, as usual in such cases, an unmeaning compromise, which would leave things in very nearly their former state. The preachers were to a certain extent to acknowledge the authority of the bishops, and the bishops to take care so to exercise that authority as not to give cause of complaint to the regular orders.

Discussions on original sin.

The discussions on the next point of doctrine, original sin, were extremely curious, and the

[1] Du Pin, vii. 16, 17. F. Paul, 151. Cour. i. 255.

[2] F. P. 151, 157—161, 173. C. i. 255. 264, &c. D. P. vii. 18—21, 26—28.

whole subject proved highly perplexing to the fathers. Its nature, the mode of its transmission, the means of its remission, and how far the blessed Virgin was involved in it, were all found to be very unmanageable questions.— S. Augustine had made it to consist in "concupiscence," or corrupt affection; Anselm in "the privation of original righteousness, which in baptism is renewed by grace as an equivalent." Aquinas, Bonaventure, Peter Lombard, and John Scotus had each his peculiar account to give of it; the intelligibility of which may be judged of by the following statement, in which some of the contending parties endeavoured to unite, namely, "that in our corrupted nature there are two rebellions, one of the soul against God, the other, that of the senses against the soul; that the latter is concupiscence, the former unrighteousness; and that both together are sin."—It was however generally agreed that concupiscence is not sin, but the punishment of sin—sin being an *act*, at least of the will, contrary to the divine law: and the fathers, to avoid the perplexity that arose, were most inclined to the opinion of Ambrose Catharinus, who contended, "that Adam's sin was in us only by imputation, on account of the covenant which God made with him."[1] Many however being opposed to it, they dared not adopt it; and, in spite of the remonstrances of some on the ridicule which such a step would entail on them, the council determined to condemn those who denied original sin, without saying in what it con-

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Its nature.

Concupiscence.

[1] Du Pin, vii. 24. F. Paul's words are, "that the very transgression of Adam belonged to every one—to him as the cause, to others by virtue of the covenant." 165. Cour. i. 276.

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sisted, or what was to be held affirmatively concerning it.[1]

Its transmission.

On the transmission of original sin, S. Augustine was quoted, who had doubted whether the soul, as well as the body, was not derived from the parents, and thus partook of their corruption: but the schoolmen, rejecting this opinion had held, that corruption is chiefly in the flesh or body, and that by the body the soul is infected, "as liquor by the vessel into which it is put."—How strong a warning does all this afford against attempting to be "wise above what is written."

Its remission.

On the remission of original sin, "all agreed that it is cancelled by baptism, and the soul restored pure into the state of innocency, though the punishments that follow sin," including concupiscence, "are not removed, that they may be an exercise for the righteous." "Many passages of S. Paul and the other apostles were alleged, which," it was asserted in the council of Trent, as it is by many protestants now, "affirm that baptism washeth, cleanseth, illuminateth, and purifieth the soul, so that no condemnation, spot, or wrinkle remaineth."[2]—To say, "that there remained something worthy of death in the baptized," and "to make con-

[1] F. Paul; 168. Cour. i. 281-2.

[2] One archbishop, whose opinion considerably influenced the council, asserted, that "by the regenerate, not only the baptized are meant, but those whose lives answer to the profession they make in baptism." Du Pin, vii. 24. (On n'entend pas seulement ceux, &c. mais ceux dont la vie, &c.)—Those protestants must certainly have much less insight into the scriptures than this Romish archbishop possessed, who perceive not that the apostles, in the passages referred to in the text, *supposed* the baptized persons to be in reality what they were in professior—sincere Christians: nay, that some of the passages rather look forward to the glorified state of the church, than to any thing yet attained.

cupiscence sin in them," was held to be clearly "heretical." [1] A. D. 1546.

Infants.

On the state of children dying without baptism, "so many vanities," says F. Paul, "were delivered, that they might give great matter of entertainment." [2]

The Virgin Mary.

Concerning the conception of the virgin Mary without the taint of original sin, a fancy which was the subject of fierce dispute between the Franciscans, who affirmed, and the Dominicans, who denied it, enough has been stated of the decision of the council, on a former occasion.[3] I will only here add, that, in reporting it, F. Paul introduces a discourse to shew "how the blessed virgin came, about the year 1050, to be worshipped—in a form which anciently was ever used to the honour of the divine Majesty; and the worship so to increase in the next hundred years, that it came to the height of attributing unto her what the scriptures speak of the Divine Wisdom." [4]

Worship of her.

Decree of Session V, on original sin. June 17.

In the end, a decree was passed in the fifth session, consisting of five articles; the last of which anathematized all who should deny "that the guilt of sin is removed by the

[1] Even the council itself could hardly be kept clear of *Lutheranism*. Soto the Dominican, a prominent character in it, in sermons on the advent, and in lent, "exhorted to repose all confidence in God, condemned all trust in works, and affirmed that the heroical acts of the ancients, so renowned by men, were truly sin; spake of the difference of the law and the gospel, not as of two *times*, but as if the gospel had been ever, and that the law ought to be ever; and also of the certainty of grace," (or assurance,) "though with ambiguous and doubtful clauses, for fear they might so reprehend him that he could not be defended." F. Paul, 167. Cour. i. 280.

[2] F. P. 168. C. i. 281.

[3] Vol. i. 443.

[4] F. P. 169—171. C. i. 284, &c.

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grace which Jesus Christ confers in baptism, and all which is sinful entirely taken away;" and affirms, that "there is nothing which God hates in the regenerate;" that concupiscence, though remaining in the baptized, is only "to exercise them, but without hurting those that resist it;" and that, though S. Paul sometimes calls this concupiscence sin, yet the catholic church never taught that he gave it that name as if it were truly and properly sin in the baptized, but because it comes from sin, and leads to sin."[1]

Discussions on Justification.

The next article considered was the capital one of JUSTIFICATION. On this the discussions were rendered very complicated, by being made to involve, not only the nature and means of justification, the nature of faith, and the quality of works, antecedent, concomitant, and subsequent, but also the questions of assurance, free will, and predestination. The subject was felt, both by the divines and the fathers, to be singularly important, as "all the errors of Luther resolved themselves into it;" and withal singularly difficult, since (unlike the question of original sin,) "justification by faith only was a thing never heard of before;"[2] and Luther's doctrine, relative to every part of it, such as had "never been thought of by any school writer, and therefore never confuted or discussed!"[3]

Articles selected from the Lutherans.

As the groundwork of their proceeding, the council collected, or pretended to collect, from the writings of Luther, twenty-five articles to be examined and condemned.

[1] F. Paul, 162—172. Cour. i. 272—289. Du Pin, vii. 21—26. [2] Simply *inouïe*, in Courayer, i. 298.
[3] F. P. 178, 181. C. i. 298, 303.

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And here every rash expression, every over-strained position, into which he had been betrayed, was taken advantage of: and it cannot be denied, that his zeal against the doctrine of justification by works had led him at times to use language, concerning both the law of God and human works, which is open to just objection. In particular, though he ever maintained that the justified man would and must walk religiously in good works, yet, finding that if any thing were introduced concerning justifying faith being an active, operative principle, its power of justifying us was immediately attributed to the works which it produced, he was led at times to reject the proposition, which may safely, and assuredly ought constantly to be maintained, that the faith which justifies is a lively and active, as opposed to a dead and inoperate, faith. The "lively" or living faith of the church of England,[1] which alone interests in Christ for justification, is not to be confounded with the "formed" faith of the church of Rome—that is, a faith clothed in all the fruits which it is to produce, and justifying us by means of its fruits;[2] though

[1] Art. xii.

[2] "They say, that the scriptures which speak of justification by faith ought to be understood of *a formed faith*; that is, that our justification is to be ascribed to our faith, only on account of our love" and other fruits of it: "nay they make love to justify, and not faith. But what else is this, than to abolish the promise again, and to return to the law?" Melanc. Apol. Confess. p. 52. ed. 1537. "The papists say, that man is justified by a *formed* faith. They mean, not by faith, but by other virtues." Id. Op. i. 373.—In the council itself, Marinarus "liked not that it should be said, that faith is *formed with charity*, because that kind of speech is not used by S. Paul, but only that faith *worketh by* charity," or love. F. Paul, 183. Cour. i. 306.

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many at that time, and many since have been willing to confound them.[1]—By the one broad but simple distinction, between a living and a dead faith, every legitimate end, sought by confounding faith and works, in the matter of justification, is best secured, while the fatal errors which arise from such a mingling of things essentially incompatible are avoided.

Nature of Justification.

On the nature of justification, knowing how much the church of Rome confounds it with sanctification—making it to include 'an infused habit of grace,' and not simply to be acceptance to the favour of God—we are surprised and gratified to find some leading characters openly asserting the forensic sense of the term, or that justification consists in being pronounced not liable to condemnation, but intitled (on whatever grounds,) to the rewards of righteousness. To deny this concerning the language of S. Paul, said Marinarus, "is manifestly against the text, which maketh a judicial process, and saith that none can *accuse* or *condemn* God's elect, because God doth *justify* them; where the judicial words, to accuse and condemn, do shew that the word justify is judicial also."[2]

Imputation of Christ's righteousness.

Even the *imputation* of Christ's righteousness to us, wanted not its advocates, "in regard of the opinion of Albertus Pighius, who, confessing the inherent" righteousness of sanctification, "added, that we must not trust in that, but in the imputed righteousness of Christ, as if it were our own.—None doubted that Christ had merited for us, but some blamed the word *impute* ... because it was not

[1] This is done where faith *comprehending* good works, and faith *producing* them, are not distinguished.

[2] F. P. 187. C. i. 313. Above, vol. i. 159, 160.

to be found in the fathers." Vega, the Franciscan, another leading character, defended the word; "but would not have it said, that Christ's righteousness was imputed *as if it were our's*."[1] A. D. 1546.

The different senses of the word *faith*, and the nature of that faith, "which, it must be presupposed as undoubted, justifieth—that being repeatedly affirmed by S. Paul"—was much discussed. Some were of opinion that a lively and a dead, a *formed* and an *unformed* faith, "do both justify, after divers manners"—the former "completely," the latter in an incipient manner, "as a beginning and foundation"—leading the way, by a historic assent to the truths of scripture, to a more full and proper influence of them. Faith.

Much was said also on *works*, preceding, accompanying, and following justification, and on the influence of each.[2]—In short, they could Works.

[1] F. P. 187. C. i. 314.

[2] The reader may take a specimen of the absurdities, as well as errors, into which these refining doctors ran. Soto, maintaining against Catharinus, that man has some power, of his own unassisted free will, to do well, argued, "That it was one thing to avoid any particular sin, and another to avoid *all* sins: as, 'in a vessel having three holes in it, a man might stop which two of them he would, but could not, with two hands, stop them all!'"—F. P. 185. C. i. 309.—On the works, and emotions of mind, *preparing*, as it was said, for justification, Marinarus argued, "That, as in passing from great cold to heat one must pass by a less degree of cold, which is neither heat nor a new cold, but the same cold diminished, so one goeth from sin to righteousness by terrors and attritions, which are neither good works nor new sins, but old sins attenuated."—"Concerning the works done in grace there was no difficulty, for they all said that they were perfect, and merited salvation." F. P. 186. C. i. 311, 312. D. P. vii. 35.—Soto, being pressed with the question, whether works in which the act required by the law was performed, but not from the right motive, or under the

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see that both faith and works are required in the Christian, but respecting the distinct provinces of each they appear to have been utterly in the dark. As F. Paul with sententious and admirable sagacity remarks, "But the principal point of the difficulty they touched not, namely, WHETHER A MAN IS RIGHTEOUS, (JUSTIFIED,) AND THEN DOETH RIGHTEOUSLY, OR BY DOING RIGHTEOUSLY BECOMETH RIGHTEOUS"—OR IS JUSTIFIED.[1] This profound author here places his finger on the precise point at issue—the very core of the question. No one means "to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified, or works from being added as necessary duties, required at the hands of every justified man:"[2] but the question is, Do they *go before*, and *procure* his justification, or do they "follow after,"[3] and *prove* him justified? And on this question our church has, in her xith and xiith Articles, pronounced her decided and unequivocal judgment.

Precisely to this effect also the bishop of Cava delivered his opinion in the council. "He attributed justification and salvation," says Du Pin, "to faith alone, and said that hope and charity were inseparable companions" of faith, "but not the cause" of the blessings which

influence of grace, prepared a man for justification, thought, "in regard to the goodness of them, that they did;" but yet, "considering the doctrine of S. Augustine, approved by Aquinas and other good divines, that the first beginning of salvation proceeds from the vocation of God," it seemed that they did not. He therefore "avoided these straits by the distinction, that they were preparatory only *afar off*, or remotely, not nearly!" F. P. 185. C. i. 310. D. P. vii. 35.

[1] F. P. 182—186. C. i. 303—312. D. P. vii. 34.

[2] Hooker. [3] Church Art. xii.

it receives. "This opinion," however, adds the historian, "was refuted by several prelates." [1] A. D. 1546.

Assurance.

Luther's account of faith brought into discussion the question of *assurance* of salvation, or at least of present acceptance with God; which occasioned long and sharp debates among those who were deputed to draw up the decisions of the council. It was at first maintained, "that uncertainty was both profitable and meritorious," as conducing to humility and diligence. Seripandos, general of the Eremites, and subsequently one of the presidents of the council, with Vega and Soto, the leaders respectively of the Franciscans and Dominicans, adduced passages on that side from scripture and the fathers: but Catharinus and Marinarus alleged others from the same fathers on the contrary side; "which shewed that they had spoken on this particular as the occasions required, sometimes to comfort the scrupulous, and sometimes to repress the self-confident." By degrees, so much certainly seemed to be admitted "as did exclude all doubt:" and it was argued, "As he that is hot is sure that he is so, and should want sense if he doubted it, so he that hath grace in him doth perceive it, and cannot doubt it: [2] yet it is by the sense of the mind, and not by divine revelation." The argument, however, that this conclusion was "too much in favour of the Lutherans," had great weight

[1] D. P. vii. 36.

[2] There is a manifest fallacy in this argument. A man may be sure, from his own perceptions, that a certain effect is produced in his mind, but may still doubt whether it is *the effect* described in holy scripture, as the unequivocal fruit and proof of divine grace. Not the existence of the thing is doubted: that is matter of sense: but its agreement with an external archetype—the description elsewhere given.

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against it; and the subject was left undecided, at least for the present. "He," says F. Paul, that has not seen the minutes of those who took part in these discussions, and how far they differed from those which were printed, would not believe how much was spoken upon this article, and with how much heat, not only by the divines, but by the bishops also."[1]

Free will.

The subject of works, considered as preparatory to grace, or as resulting from it, introduced the question of *free will*, with all the captious and perplexing subtilties of which it is susceptible. Here, however, as well as on the subject of predestination, we shall be surprised at the degree of what, in modern language, would be called Calvinism, which was found in the council.—On this occasion again certain articles were collected from the Lutheran writings, some of them such as we have seen advanced in the early editions of Melancthon's Common Places, which deny free agency to the creature as such; others relating to free will in the sense in which it is considered as, in man, lost by the fall.—In discussing these, Catharinus, according to the opinion which he had before maintained,[2] that without God's special assistance man cannot do what is morally good, contended "that the article, 'That free will is only in doing ill, and hath no power to do good,' was not so easily to be condemned.—Vega, after speaking with such ambiguity that he understood not himself, concluded that between the divines and the protestants there was no difference of opinion....But he was not favourably heard, the sentiment being obnoxious, that any of the differences might be reconciled."—

[1] F. Paul, 192—194. Cour. i. 323—326.
[2] F. P. 184. C. i. 307.

"Soto defended very fearfully" the opinion, that the consent of man's free will is necessary to give efficiency to divine grace, "because there was opposed to it[1] this argument, *that the distinction of the elect from the reprobate would in that case proceed from man, contrary to the perpetual Catholic sense—which is, that it is grace alone which separates the vessels of mercy from the vessels of wrath.*[2]...The free speech of Catanea and the other Dominicans," on this side, "did also trouble those, who knew not how to distinguish the opinion which attributes justification to (man's) consent, from that of the Pelagians: and they therefore wished care to be taken, lest, through too great eagerness to condemn Luther, they should run into a contrary extreme—that objection being esteemed above all, that *by this means the divine election or predestination would be for works foreseen—which no divine did admit.*"[3] A. D. 1546.

Predestination.

This brought on the question of *predestination*. And on this subject both F. Paul and Du Pin testify, that, "nothing being found that deserved censure in the writings of Luther,[4] in the Confession of Augsburg, or in the Apologies and Conferences," articles were drawn from

[1] "By Louis of Catanea." Courayer.

[2] Previously to this it had been argued, "that the first beginning of salvation proceeds from the vocation of God;" that "holy scripture doth attribute our conversion to God, and that it is not fit to forsake the form of speech which it useth." F. P. 185, 186. C. i. 311. D. P. vii. 35.

[3] F. P. 194—197. C. i. 326—331. D. P. vii. 42, 43.

[4] I confess that, after reading Luther's book de Servo Arbitrio, I feel some surprise at the fact here recorded: but let the reader compare with it Maclaine's assertion, above noticed, that "the doctrines of absolute predestination, &c. were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy, by any divine, than they were by Luther." In Mosheim iv. 40.

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the books of the Zuinglians, which furnished "ample matter." And here, "though the opinions were divers," yet "the most esteemed divines among them thought," that even the high supralapsarian doctrine—making rejection to be, equally with election, independent of works foreseen [1]—"was catholic, and the contrary heretical, because the good school-writers, Aquinas, Scotus, and others did so think;" and also because of scriptural passages which they cited. "Endless authorities from S. Augustine" were also adduced: "for that saint wrote nothing in his old age but in favour of this doctrine."—F. Paul says, "As this opinion is mysterious and incomprehensible, suited to humble man, to keep him dependent solely on God, and to make him more sensible of the deformity of sin and the excellency of divine grace; so the contrary was plausible and popular, cherishing human presumption, and more suited for display: whence it pleased more the preaching friars than the understanding divines.—The courtiers approved it as favourable to civil government....Its defenders, while using only human reasons, prevailed over the others: but, coming to the testimonies of scripture, they were manifestly overcome."

After such a report, closed by such an opinion, we can feel no surprise at this celebrated writer's having been pronounced "a Calvinist in a friar's frock." [2]—It is to be observed, however, that he reports also the arguments and objections on the other side, putting the latter in as keen a

[1] The reason for an essential difference in the two cases is palpable—evil works being the *natural* produce of the mind of fallen man, good works the fruit of divine grace; the consequence therefore, and not the first cause, of God's favour.

[2] Bossuet: above, vol. i. pref. p. xvi.

manner as a partisan on that side could reasonably wish. But here we enter into no examination of the arguments on either side: we simply record the opinions which were stated, and the general grounds on which they were maintained —particularly where either one or the other was such as to excite surprise, considering the place where they were urged.—We may add, that Catharinus avowed the same sentiment which was adopted by our own Milton, and by Dr. John Edwards—in other respects a zealous Calvinistic writer at the beginning of the last century; namely that some are A. D. 1546.

> "chosen of peculiar grace
> Elect above the rest;"[1]

but that many others will attain to salvation by the due use of the means and assistances vouchsafed them.—Catharinus further said, "that S. Augustine held, that, though God *hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*, yet this will of God cannot be unjust because it is founded on VERY OCCULT MERITS."[2]

These discussions were frequently marked by much animosity. In particular, we blush to record the more than indecorum, the disgraceful violence into which the bishop of Cava was betrayed. He, as we have before seen, had avowed more correct sentiments, than perhaps any other person present, on the all-important doctrine of justification: and, these being opposed by several of his brethren, he occupied a whole sitting of a subsequent congregation in maintaining them. At the close, the bishop of Chiron Violence of debate in the council.

[1] Par. Lost. iii. 183, &c.

[2] F. Paul, 197—200. Cour. i. 331—337. Du. Pin, vii. 43—45.

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having said, "that he hoped at the next meeting to refute him, and to demonstrate to him his ignorance or his obstinacy," he was so incensed as to take his right reverend brother by the beard, and tear out some of the hair! He was in consequence committed to custody, and condemned to perpetual banishment—the pope having suggested to the council, that they should pronounce a severe sentence, that he himself might have the merit of mitigating it, and then sending the untractable bishop to his diocese, where he would give them no further trouble: all which was accordingly done.[1]

Great rudeness and insolence also passed, at this time, between different prelates, and even between the cardinals acting under the pope's commission, on the subject of removing or adjourning the council, on account of the alarm which the fathers felt at the position occupied by the protestants, now in arms against the emperor. Charles himself was so averse to any suspension of the council's proceedings, that he, by his ambassador, threatened to throw cardinal Santa Croce, one of the presidents, into the river Adige if he dared to propose it.[2]

Difficulty of drawing up the decisions.

In drawing up the decisions of the council on the complicated questions which had been discussed, great difficulties were found in so framing them, that they should not impugn the opinions of one or other of the parties who were to concur in them: and in overcoming these difficulties cardinal Santa Croce, in particular, laboured with unwearied zeal and consummate art for three months together, both in congregations held for the purpose, and in conferences

[1] Du Pin, vii. 38, 39.
[2] D. P. vii. 39—42. F. P. 189, 190. C. i. 318.

with individuals. "From the beginning of September to the end of November, there passed not a day in which the cardinal did not revise what was done before, and change something" —till, as is manifest from some instances which F. Paul recites, all meaning was lost. "And truly," adds the same author, "it is not fit to rob the cardinal of his due praise, who knew how to satisfy men obstinate in contrary opinions."—When the decree was modelled "so as to be approved by all in Trent, it was sent to the pope, who submitted it to the friars and learned men for their opinion; and it was approved by them, because every one might understand it in his own sense."—In expressly assigning such a reason, our author no doubt indulges his sarcastic humour: but, how truly the fact was as that reason alleges, we shall ere long see strikingly demonstrated. A. D. 1547.

At length, in the sixth session, held January 13, 1547, the decree of the council was promulgated, consisting of sixteen articles, followed by thirty-three canons; the former laying down the approved doctrine, and the latter anathematizing the errors opposed to it.—It would not be to our purpose to enter into the particulars of a decree, which was said to have "decided more articles in one session, than all the councils held in the church from the apostles' times had done;" in which "Aristotle might claim a great part, since, if he had not exactly defined all the various *kinds of causes*, we had wanted many articles of faith;" and which "must be read over and over again with much attention and deep meditation, because it cannot be understood without a perfect knowledge of the inmost movements of the mind—all the doctrine of the council turning upon this hinge, Decree of Session VI, on Justification, &c. Jan. 13, 1547.

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whether the first object of the will work upon that faculty, or that faculty upon it—or whether they be both active and passive: things most subtile, and, for the various appearances they make, ever accounted disputable."[1]—Without entering into these refinements, we may remark, that, though some things apparently better than have been held by many protestants are laid down concerning the necessity of Christ's propitiation, of faith in him, and of prevenient grace in order to acts of faith, hope, and charity; yet the doctrine at large is very corrupt—the doctrine of men who know not, in any feeling and impressive manner, the fall of man, the corruption of their own hearts, the evil of sin, the grace of God, or the gospel of Christ. It bears upon its very face, that it is the work of mere speculators—men deciding dogmatically upon divine truths under the guidance of unhumbled carnal reason. In this respect it forms the most striking contrast to the writings of the reformers, which we have reviewed—not excepting the more reserved and formal composition required in such a work as the Confession of Augsburg. Even there all was life and feeling; tenderness of conscience, and a quick sense of sin—of corruption and condemnation; and of the need and the blessedness of deliverance by a Redeemer. Here, on the contrary, we are chiefly reminded of the apostle's sentence, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

Specimens of it.

A few short specimens of the language and sentiments of this decree shall be given, and

[1] I collect, and slightly abridge, from F. Paul, 213, 214. Cour. i. 363—366.

they will amply suffice. The sixth article explains "how adults dispose, or prepare themselves for justification." The seventh defines justification to be, "not only remission of sins, but sanctification, and a renovation of the inner man, by a voluntary reception of grace and of the gifts which accompany it: of which the *final* cause is the glory of God, and eternal life; the *efficient* cause, God himself; the *meritorious* cause, our Lord Jesus Christ; the *instrumental* cause, baptism—without which (or the desire and purpose to receive it,) no man can be justified; and the *formal* cause, the righteousness of God, by which he justifies us, so that we are not only *reputed* just, but are *really* so, by receiving into ourselves his righteousness, according to our measure, and the distribution which the Holy Spirit makes, and according to every man's disposition and cöoperation with the Spirit."—*Assurance* is rather discountenanced than denied, in the ninth; but it is treated with marvellous obscurity. The tenth speaks of "the increase of the justification we have received, by advancing from virtue to virtue." The eleventh denies that a justified man is unable to fulfil the law, "because God never commands impossible things."[1] In the twelfth and thirteenth articles, not so much the doctrines of predestination to life and final perseverance, as the fact that any man can know himself to be concerned in those gracious decrees of heaven, seem to be denied. The fourteenth teaches, that "those who by sin fall from the grace of justification cannot rise again but by the sacrament of penance, which is called, *a second plank after*

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[1] See Melancthon on this subject, above p. 229, 230.

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shipwreck." The sixteenth admonishes the faithful not to attribute too much to their good works, "but to acknowledge the extreme goodness of our Lord, who is willing that *his own gifts* should become *their merits*." Hence, as well as from the seventh article, it is manifest how entirely the righteousness whereby we are justified is held to be "our own," only it is called "the righteousness of God" as "proceeding not from ourselves," by our own unassisted powers, but from his gift—"being by him, for the merit of Christ, *infused* into us."—All this well illustrates, by contrast, the Articles and Homilies of our church, and Hooker's Discourse of Justification.—In the twenty-fifth of the canons, those are anathematized who say, "that in every good work the just man sins venially, at least, if not mortally, and consequently deserves eternal punishment; and that the sole reason why he is not damned is, because God imputes not his works to him for damnation."[1]

Points of Reformation.

According to a concession which had been made, principally to the demands of the civil rulers, that the consideration of points of doctrine and points of discipline should proceed *pari passu*, the question of the residence of the bishops and clergy accompanied that of justification. It involved very delicate and difficult inquiries—particularly, whether the residence, and by consequence the authority of bishops were of divine right, or depended on papal appointment. Those who wished to reduce the authority of the sovereign pontiff main-

Residence, and the right of bishops.

[1] F. Paul, 201, 202, 209—211. Cour. i. 338, 352—360. Du Pin, vii. 47—52. The latter writer gives the decrees more fully; and from him therefore I draw my accounts of them.

tained the former: so that we have here the remarkable spectacle of the party, which desired some greater degree of religious liberty than had hitherto been enjoyed, contending, in order to promote their object, for episcopacy as of divine right! And among these a principal place is to be assigned to the Spanish deputies and ecclesiastics! Their opponents held, "that episcopacy was of divine institution in the pope only, and of papal institution in all other bishops."—But this question too nearly affected the prerogative of the supreme governor of the church, to be willingly entertained: and by the pope's command the legates procured it to be postponed. A decree, however, was passed for promoting residence, which attained not the end proposed, but, as F. Paul observes, "made some confusion then, and prepared matter for other times." A. D. 1547.

In connexion with the regulation of residence, it was proposed to define the qualifications requisite in persons to be advanced to the higher dignities of the church: and on this subject, according to the same historian, "very grave sayings were delivered, with great ostentation," but nothing was accomplished: "for, where kings presented, the council saw not with what bonds to bind them; where election had place, the chapters consisted of great and mighty persons; and, where the pope nominated, (to whom all bishopries, and more than two thirds of the benefices belonged,) it was not fit to prescribe a law to the apostolic see. Wherefore, after many and long discourses, it was concluded that it was better to leave the business:" and the council contented itself with expressing its "trust in the mercy of God and the vigilance of his vicar on earth, that for the future none Qualifications of church dignitaries.

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should be advanced to the government of churches, (a burden sufficient to make angels tremble,) but those who should be found to be every way worthy." [1]

Diverse interpretation of the decrees.

We have said that proof was soon afforded, that the late decrees of the council admitted of widely different interpretations. Immediately after the session just described, Soto, the Dominican, wrote three books on Nature and Grace, which he dedicated to the council, to be, as he said, "a commentary" on its decrees concerning original sin, justification, and the subjects connected with these—finding in the decrees all his own opinions. This called forth from Vega, the Franciscan, fifteen large books on the same subject, in which the several articles of the decrees were so expounded as to confirm all *his* sentiments—"differing from those of Soto in almost all points, and in many directly contrary to them." "The reader of these works," says F. Paul, "may well marvel, that two persons, the chief for learning and reputation in the council, and who had borne a principal part therein, did not know the true scope and meaning of its decisions;....and I could never find, whether the assembly did agree in one *sense*, or whether there was unity of *words* only."

Soto and Vega.

Soto and Catharinus.

Nor was this all: but, Soto having, in his book, asserted with respect to assurance, that the council had denied the possibility of any man's knowing, with such certainty as to exclude all doubt, that he is possessed of grace; Catharinus, now made bishop of Minori, wrote against him, maintaining the very contrary, and that the council had in effect declared it *a duty*

[1] F. Paul, 203—207, 211—214. Cour. i. 341—348, 360—367. Du Pin, vii. 45—47, 52, 53,

to have such certainty. He, too, dedicated his work to the sacred assembly itself.—Several publications followed from the two parties, each of which appealed to the council, and adduced the testimonies of different members of that body in its own favour: "so that the fathers were all divided into two parts; except some good prelates, who, as neutrals, said that they understood not the difference, but consented to the decree in the form in which it was published because both parties agreed in it. Santa Croce gave his testimony in favour of Catharinus: di Monte said, he continued neutral." This put men out of all hope of understanding the council, when it appeared that it did not understand itself. It moreover raised the question of the infallibility of that assembly. "It might be alleged," says F. Paul, "that it was the aggregate body altogether, unto which the Holy Ghost giving assistance made it determine the truth—though not understood by him that did determine it; as in the case of Caiaphas prophesying:" but this solution had its difficulties; and "perhaps he would hit upon the truth, who should say, that, in framing the decree, each party refused words contrary to the opinion they maintained, and all rested in those which they thought might be adapted to their own meaning."—This is certainly giving to the council all that can be allowed to belong to it—"unity of words and contrariety of meanings."—But, though the assembly was thus incapable of defining its own tenets, "no such thing occurred to it in condemning those of the Lutherans. There all did agree, with an exquisite unity."[1] A. D. 1547.

The subject of the sacraments generally, and On the sacraments.

[1] F. Paul, 202, 214—216. Cour. i. 340, 367—369.

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of baptism and confirmation in particular, was proposed for the next session. And on these topics numerous articles were collected, or pretended to be collected, from the writings of the Lutherans,[1] some of which unblushingly ascribed to them the errors of the anabaptists.

Here again extended discussions took place; and the Franciscans and Dominicans contended so fiercely about the *manner* in which the sacraments contain and convey grace, that the legates were under the necessity of applying both to the generals of those orders, and to the pope, to admonish them to restrain themselves within more decent boundaries, as their dissentions brought the council into disrepute.

It was proposed on this subject, as on the head of justification, first to lay down the doctrine to be received, and then to condemn errors opposite to it: but it was found so difficult, or rather so impracticable, to define the doctrine in such a manner as not to infringe the sentiment of one party or the other, that, by the advice of the pope, the design was abandoned, and the council contented itself with passing canons to anathematize certain errors.—His holiness desired also, that the subject of the abuses of the sacraments should be wholly passed over; "it being impossible to touch that string without offending the whole order of poor priests and friars," (who derived a great proportion of their emoluments from an actual profanation of the sacraments,) "and without giving the heretics ground of triumph, by confessing that formerly such notable absurdities had been approved."[2]

Canons of Session VII, on the sacraments, March 3.

The canons accordingly established in the seventh session, March 3, 1547, were in number

[1] Du Pin, vii. 54, 55.

[2] F. P. 232, 241. C. 398, 415, D. P. 59.

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thirty; thirteen on the sacraments generally, fourteen on baptism, and three on confirmation. We may mention the tenor of such as carry with them any interest to us, before we notice some things that passed in the discussion which led to their adoption.—All were anathematized who should say that the sacraments were more or fewer in number than seven; that the sacraments of the New Testament differed from those of the Old only in the external rites; that all the sacraments were of equal excellence; that they are not necessary to salvation; that they were instituted only to nourish faith; that they do not *contain* that grace which they signify, and *confer* it on those who put no hinderance in the way—namely, by mortal sin persisted in at the time: all likewise who should deny that the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and orders, imprint on the soul *a character*, or spiritual and indelible mark; or that, in administering the sacraments, the minister's *intention* at least to do what the church does is necessary.[1]

Seven Sacraments.

For the precise number of seven sacraments, the schoolmen, it appears, had invented the most ridiculous reasons, drawn from "the seven virtues, the seven capital vices, the seven defects proceeding from original sin," and various other fancies.[2]

Their several excellences.

On comparing the several real or supposed sacraments together, baptism was preferred for its utility and necessity: matrimony for its signification; confirmation, for the dignity of him who was to administer it; the eucharist, as an act of worship. And these "scholastic

[1] D. P. vii. 64. F. P. 246. C. i. 425.
[2] F. P. 219. C. i. 376.

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fooleries" were thought worthy of being made the ground of a solemn anathema![1]

How they contain and convey grace.

As to the manner in which sacraments "confer grace on him who puts no hinderance in the way," (though it could not be settled how they "contain" grace,[2]) the council determined that it is *ex opere operato*, or by virtue of the thing done, and not *ex opere operantis*, or in consequence of the state of mind of him who does it.[3]

Those of the Old Test.

Concerning the sacraments of the Old Testament, as compared with those of the New, it was held, that the former were "only signs of grace," whereas the latter contain and cause it. Luther and Zuinglius were here said to have held, that there was "no difference but in the external rites:" S. Bonaventure and Scotus had maintained, "that circumcision did confer grace, *ex opere operato:*" and S. Augustine said, that the sacraments of the two Testaments were "diverse in the sign, but equal in the thing signified."[4]

Character imprinted.

The subject of "the character" imprinted by baptism, confirmation, and orders was scarcely less perplexing than that of the manner in which the sacraments contain grace. Soto endeavoured to prove that the dogma had its foundation in scripture, and had ever been held for an apostolical tradition: but others were content to take a lower ground. But "what the character was, or where it was situate, was found difficult to determine, amid such a multiplicity of school-opinions; some making it a spiritual power, some a habit or disposition, some a spiritual figure, and some

[1] F. Paul, 221. Cour. i. 379. [2] F. P. 222. C. i. 381.
[3] F. P. 221. C. i. 380. Du Pin, vii. 56.
[4] F. P. 223. C. i. 383.

a sensible metaphorical quality.[1] Some would have it to be a real relation, and some a fiction of the mind:—whom it behoved," says F. Paul, "to declare, how far it differed from *nothing*."[2] A. D. 1547.

The absurdities which follow from requiring the right intention of the priest as necessary to the validity of a sacrament, especially among those who make so much to depend exclusively on sacraments, were pointed out by Catharinus with such force and clearness, that it seems wonderful how the council could resist his arguments: nay, he himself afterwards affirmed in a work which he published, that the fathers were of his opinion, and that their determination ought so to be understood!—"Children," he urged, "must be damned, penitents remain unabsolved, the people without the communion, if a priest were an infidel, or a formal hypocrite, and in administering sacraments did not intend what the church did." He added, "If any said these cases were rare, would to God they were so! But, suppose there were only one such priest, and that he baptized only one child without the intention to convey true baptism; that child, when grown up, might become the bishop of a great city, live many years in his charge, and ordain most of the priests within its limits. Yet he, being himself unbaptized, is not ordained, nor are they ordained that are promoted by him. And thus, in that great city, there will be neither eucharist nor confession! Behold millions of nullities of sacraments by the malice of one minister, in one act only!"—The council, however, could not dissent from the previous one Intention of the priest.

[1] Brent.—"Une qualité sensible metaphorique." Cour.
[2] F. P. 224. C. i. 384-5. D. P. vii. 57.

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of Florence, which had held the intention necessary; and they accordingly, as we have seen, enjoined that doctrine to be received and believed under an anathema.[1]

On professions of submission to the church.

In the course of these discussions, Cigala, bishop of Albenga, who on this occasion at least shewed himself an honest and sagacious man, made some observations which may assist us in estimating the value to be set on the professions, made by all, of deferring to the judgment of the church, however contrary it might be to their own. He said: "The usual protestations of the doctors, that they referred themselves to the decisions of the church, were terms of good manners and reverence, which ought to be met with as much respect in return, by the council's keeping itself neutral where contrary opinions prevailed.[2] He that would be respected must shew respect again: and we ought never to believe that he who said he referred himself, and submitted to the church, had a purpose to do it [by really abandoning his own sentiments,] if occasion offered" of maintaining them. He made Luther his instance—but unjustly, as far as Luther's intentions *at the time* he made these professions were concerned. The conclusion which he drew from his argument was, that they should "tolerate all the opinions .... and take care that all parties might live in peace."[3]

Reformation revoked from the council to the pope.

The articles of reformation, considered in connexion with the question of the sacraments, related to certain abuses as to the time, place, and circumstances of administering baptism,

[1] F. Paul, 225-6. Cour. i. 387. Du Pin, vii. 59.
[2] On such points as were now debated.
[3] F. P. 232. C. i. 400. D. P. vii. 59.

and to demanding money for that service.[1] But the adjourned subject of residence was also revived, and that of pluralities introduced: all which so disturbed the pope[2] that he issued a bull "revoking the whole business of reformation, from the council, to himself."[3] A. D. 1547.

The Spanish bishops, who were anxious to recover the privileges which the popes had usurped, were so much dissatisfied with the whole plan of proceeding relative to reformation, that they became unmanageable and mutinous; and it was found necessary to hasten back those bishops who had left the council, in order to outvote them. In short, the course which things took at Trent, and the violent animosities of the Dominicans and Franciscans ("whose differences were no less than those with the Lutherans,") were so alarming that the pope was full of apprehensions, "that the council would produce some great monster, to the prejudice of himself and the papacy." He therefore gladly availed himself of circumstances which have been before explained, to make that translation of the assembly to Bologna, which proved the means of suspending its proceedings for

Translation of the Council to Bologna. March 11.

[1] It was debated whether "receiving" money should be prohibited, as well as "demanding" it: and some argued, that it had been formerly determined, that, though "no temporal thing may be received for *the sacraments*," yet remuneration may be taken "for the pains of administering them!" F. P. 230. C. i. 397.

[2] Paul III.

[3] F. P. 236. C. i. 407. D. P. vii. 60, 61. Reformation, however, in certain points was decreed, but "saving in all things the authority of the holy apostolical see." D. P. vii. 66—68. F. P. 243-4, 247. C. i. 420, 429. Father Paul himself discusses the subject of pluralities, commendams, the union of benefices, &c. p. 233—235. C. i. 401—405.

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four years.[1]—The eighth session therefore, held March 11, 1547, was employed only on the translation of the council; the ninth and tenth on its adjournment, till it was regularly suspended by the pope, September 17, 1549.[2]

Sessions VIII, IX, X

Its suspension: Sept. 17, 1549.

About one month before the translation of the council to Bologna, the fathers received intelligence of the death of Henry VIII. of England, for which, says F. Paul, "they gave thanks to God, and went almost all to the bishop of Worcester,[3] congratulating him that he and the kingdom were delivered from the tyranny of a cruel persecutor; saying it was a miracle that the king had left a son of but nine years of age, that he might not be able to tread in his father's steps. And it is true that he did not tread in them all; for Henry, though he had wholly taken away the pope's authority, and punished his adherents capitally, yet did ever constantly retain all the residue of the doctrine of the church of Rome: but Edward changed religion."[4]

Death of Henry VIII.

1551. The Council resumed May 1.

On May 1, 1551, the council was resumed; cardinal di Monte, late its first president, now occupying the papal throne, under the title of Julius III. Nothing however of consequence occurred in the eleventh and twelfth sessions, beyond appointing the subject of the eucharist for settlement in the thirteenth, to be held October 11. In that session the doctrine of the church was laid down in a decree comprising eight articles, which established all the absurdities of transubstantiation; asserted "that, whereas other sacraments have virtue to sanctify

Sessions XI, XII, XIII.

Decree concerning the eucharist.

[1] F. Paul, 238—242, 249—251. Cour. i. 410—416, 434—439. Du Pin, vii. 61—63, 68.

[2] D. P. 68, &c. 89, 90.

[3] Richard Pace, a titular bishop.

[4] F. P. 243.

in the use of them, this doth *contain the Author of all sanctity* before the use;" and ordained that "all the faithful, according to the custom which has ever been received in the catholic church, are obliged to pay to the holy sacrament the worship called *latreia*, which is due to the true God."—Eleven canons followed, anathematizing all who dissented from any part of the doctrine thus established.[1] A. D. 1551.

Communion in one kind.

In the discussions which took place preparatory to this decree, little occurred which calls for notice. Great absurdity was shewn in the proofs adduced in favour of giving the sacrament to the laity in one kind only. Among them was the Lord's prayer, in which we ask for "daily *bread*" only; and the circumstance of S. Paul, in the storm at sea, blessing nothing but the "bread," of which he and his shipmates partook.—The decree itself gives evidence of the difficulty which was felt in explaining how Christ is received *entire* under one form, when "his body really exists under the species of bread, and his blood under that of wine:" but a remedy, or at least a cover, for this perplexity was found in the word "concomitance;" the third article asserting, that, "by virtue of that natural connexion and *concomitance*, by which both these parts are joined together in our Lord, and the divinity likewise,.... the whole—body, blood, soul, and divinity—are *as much* under either species as under both together:" a proposition which, literally taken, may be safely admitted.[2]

Mode of transubstantiation.

The Dominicans and Franciscans contended fiercely on the question *how* the transubstanti-

[1] D. P. vii. 108—110. F. P. 319, 320. C. i. 545—549.
[2] D. P. vii. 109. F. P. 306, 319. C. i. 525, 526, 546.

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ation takes place, or, in other words, in what inexplicable manner an unintelligible effect is produced. The former would not allow that the body and blood of Christ come into the sacrament "by a change of place." "The body," they said, "was where the bread had been, but without *coming* thither." The Franciscans contended, "that by God's omnipotence a body may be truly and substantially in many places; and that, when it doth get a new place, it is in it because it goeth thither not by a successive mutation, but in an instant, in which it gaineth a second place without losing the first."—To present the reader with such proofs how one absurdity begets another, in endless succession, may require some apology: but it may not be without its use to shew into what follies men may run when they forsake the scriptures; what conceits of their own wild imaginations they may mistake for religion; and what sort of investigations actually took place in this notable council.—The Franciscans further asserted, "that the manner of Christ's being in heaven, and in the sacrament, differeth not in substance, but in quantity, or extension:"—in heaven his body occupies the space which naturally belongs to it; in the sacrament "it is substantially, without possessing any place!"—Well may F. Paul observe, "They knew not how to explicate their own meaning."—In the general congregation, which preceded the session, it was resolved, as in some former instances, "to use as few words as possible, and those so general that they might be accommodated to the meaning of both parties." [1]

[1] F. Paul, 309, 310. Cour. i. 530. Du Pin, vii. 105-6.

A. D. 1551.

In this session some measures were likewise adopted, under the head of reformation, for remedying abuses relative to the eucharist: among which are enumerated, disrespect shewn to it by persons "not kneeling when it was carried in the street," and money being demanded for the administration of it, under the name of alms. And here a practice in use at Rome is mentioned, namely, for the communicant "to hold in his hand a burning candle with money sticking to it, which, after the communion, remained with the priest: nor was he that bore not a candle admitted to the sacrament."[1]—Canons also were passed for the regulation of episcopal jurisdiction.[2]

Abuses reformed.

The subjects of the fourteenth session, held November 25, 1551, were the sacraments of penance and extreme unction. On these, articles were collected as before from the Lutherans;[3] but F. Paul says, they were so changed in framing the anathemas, that "no jot of them remained;" and therefore he thinks it "superfluous to recite them."[4] They gave occasion, however, to great heat of discussion; and the same writer observes, "The divines, who, while they spake scholastically, kept at least to the point in hand," being here compelled by some late regulations to adduce authorities from the scriptures and the fathers, "ran into fooleries," citing every passage where the word *confiteor* or *confessio* occurs, as though it bore upon the subject of confession to a priest, though the original often signifies *praise*, or *profession*

Session XIV. Nov. 25. Penance and unction.

[1] F. P. 310. C. i. 532.

[2] D. P. vii. 111—113. F. Paul here takes occasion to discuss the rise and progress of such jurisdiction, of appeals to Rome, &c: 310—318. C. i. 532—544.

[3] D. P. vii. 115.

[4] F. P. 324. C. i. 557.

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of religion: "so that he that had heard those doctors speak could not but conclude, that the apostles and ancient bishops did never any thing else but either kneel at confession, or sit to confess others."[1]

Decree.

In the end, anathemas were decreed against all such as should hold, that penance and extreme unction are not "truly and properly sacraments;" that the passage, *Whosesoever sins ye remit, &c.* is not to be understood of the sacrament of penance, but of "authority to preach the gospel;" (though it was urged that some of the ancient fathers had understood it in the latter sense;) that satisfaction is not made by sufferings voluntarily and submissively borne; that contrition, confession, and satisfaction [acts of the person himself,] are not "required for, as it were, the *matter* of this sacrament," and as "parts of penance;" that sacramental confession is not "instituted and necessary by the law of God;" that the confession of all mortal sins is "impossible or unnecessary;"[2] that all are not bound to confess at least once a year; that the sacramental absolution is "not a judicial, but a declarative act"—though S. Jerome, Lombard, Bonaventure, and almost all the school-divines have said the contrary.[3]

Session XV. Jan. 25, 1552.

In the fifteenth session, January 25, 1552, though the council declared itself prepared with a decree and canons on the sacrifice of the

[1] F. Paul, 325. Cour. i. 558. I do not find the closing remark in Courayer.

[2] Only such, however, as were "remembered upon diligent self-examination" were required to be confessed. On this point perhaps the reformers had gained some explanation, at least, if not some concession.

[3] F. P. 324—337. C. i. 556—583. D. P. vii. 115—129.

mass, and the sacrament of orders, nothing of importance was transacted, beyond appointing the next session to be held March 19. The professed reason for delay was, the expected arrival of the protestant divines, and a willingness on the part of the council to wait for them: but, as has been already related, no satisfactory safe-conduct was ever granted them; and it was avowed by some in the council, "that it would not be lawful to treat with those whom the church must consider as heretics excommunicated and condemned, but only to instruct them if they humbly craved it, and to pardon them by favour."[1] A. D. 1552.

In the end, the sixteenth session, which had been fixed by adjournment for May 1, was held by antipation on the 28th of April, when the council was hastily suspended, on account of the alarming progress of Maurice of Saxony in the war which he had declared against the emperor.[2] Session XVI. Council again suspended. April 28.

The fathers did not reassemble till January 18, 1562, under Pius IV, who had succeeded Paul IV, in 1559. The new presidents were, the cardinal of Mantua, Hercules Gonzaga, and cardinal Seripando: and, to prevent the bishops, who aimed to recover some portion of their lost power, from introducing troublesome motions, it devised, by adroitly inserting the words *proponentibus legatis* in the decree for opening the council, to limit the right of proposing any measure in the assembly to the presidents appointed by the pope. This passed with little Again resumed. Jan. 18, 1562.

[1] F. P. 343. C. i. 591.
[2] F. P. 338, 347, 353. C. i. 583, 597, 607. D. P. vii. 129, 133, 136, 137.

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observation at the time, but it afterwards occasioned great altercation. The pope, however, insisted upon the restriction being rigidly adhered to.[1]

Prohibition of heretical books.

Much discussion ensued concerning the prohibition of heretical books. The practice of prohibiting the reading of them had been adopted by the church of Rome from the ninth century. Leo X. first denounced excommunication against those who read them. The inquisitors first made catalogues of such books; and Philip II, in the year 1558, first gave authority to the Index, or list of prohibited works, and ordered it to be printed. Paul IV, the following year, ordered that a more complete catalogue should be formed by the Holy Office, and generally received. In the Index in consequence composed, were included the Annotations of Erasmus on the New Testament, (which Leo X. had approved by a brief in 1518,) and such books as supported the rights of princes against the encroachments of the clergy, or those of councils and bishops against the usurpations of the court of Rome. Nay this Index went so far as to proscribe all books, "of what author, art, or idiom soever," printed by sixty-two printers who were named, or by any others who had ever printed the books of heretics: so that there scarcely remained, says F. Paul, a book to be read. And thus, he further remarks, "was the foundation laid for maintaining and advancing the authority of the court of Rome, by depriving men of that knowledge which is necessary to defend them from usurpations....In a word, a better device was

Remarks of F. Paul.

[1] F. Paul, 437—440. Cour. ii. 132—134. Du Pin, vii. 186—189.

never found for stultifying men, under the pretence of making them religious." [1] A. D. 1562.

Question of residence, and of the right of bishops, revived.

The question of residence, and with it that of the divine or merely human right of all other prelates beside the bishop of Rome, was now revived; and it continued to perplex the pope and his adherents till near the close of the council. It would appear that the *jus divinum* was actually carried by a majority in the council: but, great confusion having arisen, the legates so managed matters as to have the question referred to the pope himself; and thus all decision upon it was avoided, and nothing beyond adjournment passed in either the nineteenth or the twentieth session.[2] But the feelings which prevailed are very strikingly expressed by F. Paul: "The mutual distastes between those at Rome and those at Trent were increased on the arrival of every courier. At Trent, the favourers of residence bewailed the miseries of the church, the servitude of the council, and the manifest hopelessness of seeing the reformation proceed from Rome. The opposite party lamented, that a schism was plotted in the council, or rather *an apostacy from the apostolic see*."[3]

Sessions XIX, XX. May 4. June 4.

Session XXI. The eucharist. Granting the cup to the laity. July 16.

In the twenty-first session, the subject of the eucharist was resumed, chiefly with regard to

[1] F. P. 441—443, 449. C. ii. 136—142, 148. D. P. vii. 192, 198.

[2] F. P. 464, 474, 478. C. ii. 172, 186, 193. D. P. vii. 211, 216, 225. A large proportion of the fathers voted *absolutely* in favour of divine right, a minority *absolutely* against it, and several for it and several against it *conditionally*. By reporting the numbers somewhat differently, and reckoning all against it who were *not absolutely* for it, Pallavicini makes the majority to be on the side which was agreeable to the court of Rome. C. ii. 172-3.

[3] F. P. 481. C. ii. 198-9.

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some points which had not been decided in the thirteenth. A main point was the granting, or still withholding the cup from the laity. Powerful applications were made for its being granted, both from the emperor and the king of France: and the cardinal of Ferrara, legate in France, had written word, that by the granting of the communion in both kinds, at least two hundred thousand souls would be gained to the church in that kingdom alone.[1] In discussing the question, however, the same absurd arguments, as were before used, were reproduced and enlarged upon: "and it was matter of great patience," says F. Paul, "to hear all the speakers repeat the same things," and to listen to "all that was uttered by some not to be silent when other's spake." To the instance of S. Paul's blessing the bread only on shipboard, were now added that of the manna given to the Israelites, which was unaccompanied by any liquid, and that of Jonathan's extraordinary refreshment by eating honey alone, and not drinking with it! The fancy of Payva, a Portuguese divine, "delivered very seriously," may also be mentioned. He maintained "that Christ, both by precept and example, declared the bread to be due to all, and the cup to priests only: for, having consecrated the bread, he gave it to his disciples, who were then laics only; but, having ordained them priests by the words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, he then consecrated the cup and gave it them likewise!"[2]—In the end it was decreed, that communion in both kinds is not necessary; that the church has had good and sufficient reason for allowing the bread

[1] F. Paul, 429. Cour. ii. 116.

[2] F. P. 479, 486-7. 500. C. ii. 195, 205-6, 228. Du Pin, vii. 225, 230.

only to the laity; and that Christ is received entire under one species—though, whether *as much* grace is received under one kind as under both, the fathers would not determine. Anathemas were added against all who should hold contrary opinions. But, though the practice of withholding the cup was justified, the question whether at all, and, if so, on what conditions, a departure from that practice should in future be allowed, was reserved for subsequent consideration.[1] A. D. 1562.

Some things which passed when the French ambassador, supported by the representation of cardinal Ferrara, above mentioned, besought the pope to grant the cup to the laity, may deserve also to be recorded. "The pope, (Pius IV,) according to his natural disposition," F. Paul says, "suddenly answered, without any premeditation, that he had always considered the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of priests, as things *de jure positivo*—of positive institution—in dispensing with which he had as much authority as the universal church; and that for this opinion he had been thought a Lutheran in the last conclave." He would not however resolve on any thing without first proposing it in the consistory of cardinals: and, when that was done, the cardinal of Cueva said, that "he would never give his voice in favour of such a demand; and that, if it were so resolved by authority of his holiness and the consent of the cardinals, he would go to the top of the stairs of S. Peter's, and cry *Misericordia!* with a loud voice; not forbearing to say, that the prelates of France were infected with Sentiments of the pope and cardinals.

[1] F. P. 502. C. ii. 231. D. P. vii. 242. On this subsequent consideration, the question was referred absolutely to the pope. F. P. 538. C. ii. 290.

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heresy." The cardinal of S. Angelo declared, "that he would never give a cup of such deadly poison to the people of France, instead of a medicine; and that it were better to let them die"—by deserting the church—"than to cure them with such remedies." The cardinal of Alexandria said, "that it could not by any means be granted by the pope in the exercise of his plenary power—not for want of authority in him over all things *de jure positivo*, (in which number he acknowledged this to be,) but on account of the incapacity of him that demanded it. For the pope cannot give power to do evil: but it is a heretical evil to receive the cup *thinking it to be necessary:* therefore," said he, "the pope cannot grant it to such persons." [1]

Sessions XXII. The Mass. Sept. 17.

The twenty-second session laid down the doctrine of the mass, declaring that Christ, "because his sacrifice was not to end with his death, in order that he might leave to his church such a visible sacrifice as the nature of man requires, ...gave himself to be sacrificed in the church by priests under visible signs; and that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory." Anathemas were also promulgated against all who should maintain, that the sacrifice of the mass is "only one of praise and thanksgiving, and not propitiatory;" or that it is "profitable only to him that receives it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead:" or that should deny that in the words, *Do this in remembrance of me,* Jesus Christ did ordain the apostles priests, and command that they and other priests should offer his body and

[1] F. Paul, 429, 430. Cour. ii. 117, 118. Those who did not think it necessary would hardly disturb the church to obtain it, and those who did must not have it allowed them: so that it would be granted to none.

blood: or that should affirm that the canon of the mass (the Romish prayer of consecration) contains errors, and ought on that account to be discontinued; or that the ceremonies used in the celebration of the mass are contrary to piety; or that private masses, in which the priest alone communicates "sacramentally"—the people being supposed to do it "spiritually"—are unlawful; or that the mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; or that water ought not to be mixed with the wine."[1] A. D. 1562.

On continuing the services in an unknown tongue, F. Paul remarks: "He that would know what language is to be used in the church needeth only, without any more discourse, to read the fourteenth chapter of S. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, which will sufficiently inform him, though his mind be ever so much prepossessed with a contrary opinion."[2] On services in an unknown tongue.

The proceedings of the council become henceforward, with few exceptions, less interesting and important, and may in general be dismissed with a slight notice. The subject of the next session was the sacrament of orders, with the different ranks of ministers, and their respective powers. The session had been first fixed for November 12, 1562, but it was postponed by successive adjournments, occasioned by the difficulties which the question before them was found to involve, till July 15, 1563. The great point of debate still was, whether the bishops derived their powers from divine institution or only from the pope. The former conclusion, F. Paul observes, would instantly determine that the keys were not given to Sacrament of Orders.

[1] D. P. vii. 264—268. F. P. 534—536. C. ii. 282—287.
[2] F. P. 540. C. ii. 294.

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Peter only, but to all the apostles; that the bishops were of cöordinate authority with the pope—each in his own sphere; that the council, combining their joint authority, was superior to him; that the dignity of cardinals, as superior to that of bishops, was but a figment: and thus "the court of Rome would be brought to nothing."[1] Perceiving all this, Lainès, general of the order of Jesuits, who had lately come to the council, procured a distinct congregation to be assigned him, in which he might be fully heard upon the subject. He maintained, that jurisdiction in the church belonged solely and exclusively to the bishop of Rome; and that Peter alone was ordained by Christ, and all the other apostles by him—or, if by Christ himself, yet by him only as "doing, for that one time, what belonged to Peter," and what for all future time he himself had exclusively committed to him. A council, he asserted, is made *general*, "how small soever" may be the number of its members, by being pronounced such by the pope, from whom all authority is derived, and who is himself above that which is derived from him. "He giveth," Lainès in effect proceeded, "all their force to the decrees of a council; and that to which he thus giveth force, and that only, is decreed by the Holy Ghost." Nay he maintained, that, when a council is held, still the pope alone *decrees*, and the council "does but *approve*, that is, *receive* the decrees."—These sentiments, however, as might be expected, were violently opposed: the Spanish and French bishops held a directly contrary doctrine: and the archbishop of Paris, in par-

Doctrines of Lainès, general of the Jesuits:

strongly opposed.

[1] F. Paul, 569. Cour. ii. 345.

ticular, declared that such principles "converted a spiritual kingdom into a temporal tyranny, and made the church, instead of the spouse of Christ, the slave and prostitute of a man." [1] A. D. 1562.

On the subject of *dispensations*, Lainès, in a subsequent congregation, maintained doctrines of the same extravagant kind, and that "with as great zeal as if his salvation had been at stake." He asserted "that the pope had power to dispense all laws, of what kind soever—the tribunal of the principal and that of the vicegerent being the same;" and that "to teach men to prefer their own conscience before the authority of the church, is to plunge them in a bottomless pit of dangers." [2]

Disputes for precedence in the council.

The council was also from time to time harassed by fierce contentions, between different parties, concerning the right of precedence. At the present period such a dispute arose between the French and Spanish ambassadors, in consequence of a device to which the pope had had recourse for putting them on a par at the celebration of mass, when he could not decide between them their claims of priority, as disturbed the congregation during the whole time of the service, and interrupted the solemnities in the most indecent manner: and the cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise, on the part of the French, protested that, if the like attempt were made again, he would himself mount the pulpit, with a crucifix in his hand, and having proclaimed, "He that desires the welfare of Christendom, let him

[1] F. P. 570—574. C. ii. 345—354. ("Une esclave prostituée.") D. P. vii. 283.

[2] F. P. 674. C. ii. 507—509.

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follow me," would quit the church, hoping to be followed by every one present.—Nay, the French were prepared on this occasion to protest against Pius IV, as not rightful pope, and against the decrees which had passed "as made at Rome, and not at Trent, and as being the decrees of Pius, and not of the council." [1]

Session XXIII. July 15, 1563.

Decree concerning orders,

At length, after numberless delays and difficulties, the twenty-third session was held, and the decress and canons concerning orders were published. Ordination was declared to be a true and proper sacrament, to imprint an indelible character, and to convey power to retain or remit sins; and those who should deny these, and other points now decided, were anathematized. The question of the divine or the derived right of bishops was evaded: [2] and, on

and residence.

the other disputed subject of residence, the council, after ten month's deliberation and debate, and after sending various embassies and despatches to the pope and all the leading princes of Europe, came to the momentous decision, "that not to reside is sinful, where there is not a lawful cause to the contrary!" [3]

Session XXIV. Nov. 11.

Decree on marriage.

The subject of the twenty-fourth session, was marriage, which was declared, to be "a true and proper sacrament." But it was also declared, that it is "better and happier to abide in virginity or celibacy than to marry;" and that "churchmen in holy orders, or regulars who have professed chastity," may not contract marriage, and that, if they do, their marriage is void. Anathemas were pronounced against such as should deny these positions, or that

[1] F. P. 680—683. C. ii. 518—523. D. P. vii. 317—320.
[2] F. P. 677, 683, 687. C. ii. 514, 524, 528.
[3] F. P. 690—695. C. ii. 533—544. D. P., vii. 325—333.

marriage, not consummated, is dissolved by a religious vow of one of the parties.[1] A. D. 1563.

Policy of prohibiting marriage.

F. Paul's statement of the policy of prohibiting marriage to the clergy may deserve to be transcribed. "It is plain," he says, "that married priests will turn their affections and love to their wives and children, and by consequence to their house and country: so that the strict dependence of the clergy on the apostolic see would cease. Thus granting marriage to priests would destroy the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and leave the pope bishop of Rome only."[2]

Prohibited degrees reduced.

It appears that the restrictions upon marriage, on the ground of relationship, had been carried much further in preceding ages than they were at the period of the council of Trent. The prohibition had been extended to the seventh degree of consanguinity or affinity, and applied to the imaginary relationships formed by engaging as sponsors in baptism, as well as to those which have a natural foundation. But pope Innocent III. limited it to the fourth degree, alleging such notable reasons as these, that there were but four elements in nature, and four humours in man's body![3]

XXVth or closing Session, Dec. 3, 4.

The twenty-fifth session had been fixed for the ninth of December: but for some time past the leading princes of Christendom, convinced that no good was to be expected from the council, had forborne to press their several objects; allowed their prelates and divines to withdraw; and seemed intent only on bringing the assembly to an end as decently and quietly as possible:[4] and now, says F. Paul, "the one only aim and joint resolution was to precipitate

[1] F. P. 730, 736. C. ii. 606, 617.
[2] F. P. 635, 431. C. ii. 449. [3] F. P. 699. C. ii. 552.
[4] F. P. 658-9, 729. C. ii. 482-3, 603. D. P. vii. 349.

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the conclusion."[1] The day of the session, therefore, was anticipated: and, on December the 3d and 4th, decrees were published on purgatory, the invocation and worship of saints, images, and relics; on indulgences, and prohibited books; as also concerning various subjects of reformation; and finally for terminating the council, and desiring the pope's confirmation of its decisions.

On some of these heads, though all now "aimed at avoiding difficulties,"[2] the different parties could not agree; and they were forced to pass over some points, in words that would express the sentiments in which they concurred, without contradicting those in which they differed.[2]—Concerning purgatory it was thought, that enough was implied in what had been taught concerning the utility of the sacrifice of the mass to the departed, and what remained to be declared concerning the duty of praying for them. The decree therefore did little else than ordain, that such "masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety as were customarily performed by the faithful here for the faithful that are departed, be offered with piety and devotion, according to the usages of the church;" and then guard against abuses and too curious inquiries connected with the subject.—"The saints who reign with Christ," it was declared, "offer up their prayers to God for men:" and therefore it was pronounced "a good and profitable thing to call upon them with humility, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and assistance, in order to obtain grace and favour from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." It was

Purgatory.

Invocation of saints.

[1] F. Paul, 729. [2] Du Pin.

further decreed, "that the faithful ought to pay veneration" to the holy bodies and relics of the martyrs and other saints: and that to the images of Jesus Christ, the virgin-mother of God, and the other saints, "the honour and veneration ought to be paid which are their due." "Not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them, for which they should be worshipped,.... but because the honour which is paid to them is referred to the originals which they represent." "All superstition," however, "was to be taken away, and all filthy lucre to be avoided:" and considerable anxiety seems implied in the decrees, to avoid those crying abuses upon all these points, which had raised so general a prejudice, and given the reformers so powerful a handle against the church of Rome.[1]

A. D. 1563.

Relics.

Images.

When these decrees had been read, cardinal Moronè, as chief president, granted to every one that was present in the session, or had assisted in the council, a plenary indulgence; blessed the council, and dismissed it; saying, that, after they had given thanks to God, they might go in peace.[2]

Dissolution of the Council.

"It is incredible," says Pallavicini, "how much the news of the conclusion of the council revived the pope in the sickness," under which he at this time laboured, and from apprehension of the consequences of which the fathers had been more anxious to bring their deliberations to a close: "so that his holiness would not have been without an illness which," by expediting this happy event, "had been so useful to the church....He ordered therefore a solemn procession to be made the next day to give

Effect on the Pope.

[1] D. P. vii. 368—391. F. P. 750—757. C. ii. 643—661.
[2] F. P. 757.

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thanks to God, and granted indulgences to all who should assist in it."[1]

Fidelity of F. Paul's History.

Such is the view given us of this celebrated council by that great writer Fra Paolo Sarpi; whose representations are confirmed by Du Pin, and vindicated, in all material points, against the exceptions of Pallavicini and other zealous Romanists, by the learned French translator of the work, Dr. Courayer—himself also a member of the Romish communion. Though Pallavicini's history was written under the sanction of the court of Rome, to counteract the impression made by that of F. Paul, yet we have seen[2] that Du Pin declares, that the two histories "agree well concerning the principal facts, and differ little but in things of no moment:" and Courayer scruples not to affirm that, after all, "F. Paul is the historian of the council, and Pallavicini its panegyrist." "As soon as the history of the former was published," he says, "it was read with eagerness; and the lapse of more than a century since its first appearance has only enhanced the opinion which the learned, the enlightened, and the impartial formed of it. Rome indeed was offended at it, and left no means untried to lower its estimation, and to discredit its author. But a work essentially good will support itself against the low and interested attacks which may be made upon it; and the slight errors, which the inspection of the Acts of the council, and the discovery of several new memorials relating to it, have detected in this history, have only served to give to the rest more credit and authority."[3]—Father Paul, indeed, had not

His sources of information.

[1] Du Pin, vii. 391

[2] Vol. i. Pref. p. xvi.

[3] Cour. Pref. p. i. and viii.

access to the Acts of the council, and the secret correspondence of the legates who presided in it, which are preserved at Rome, and which were laid open to Pallavicini: but, with the exception of these, (and they might not present the most impartial accounts,) he possessed and availed himself of the best possible sources of information: and no one has been able successfully to impeach his fidelity and honour in the use he made of them. He lived not long after the time, and near the place in which the council was held:[1] he was a man of universal information, and was well acquainted with many who had assisted in the assembly. In particular, he lived on terms of intimacy with Camillus Oliva, secretary to the cardinal of Mantua, first president of the council under Pius IV. He had the use of the journal of Cheregato, nuncio of Adrian VI, the Acts of the legation of Contarini at Ratisbon, part of the letters of cardinal di Monte, first president of the council under Paul III, those of Visconti, bishop of Vintimiglia, the secret agent of Pius IV. at Trent, the memoirs of cardinal da Mula, the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors at the council, and the greater part of those of the ambassadors of France, beside many other private memorandums, from which he derived the suffrages of the prelates and divines on most of the questions which were agitated.[2]—There can be no ground, therefore, to distrust either the information or the veracity of a work, which, by its "perspicuity and depth of thought," its "various erudition and force of reason," has for

A. D. 1563.

[1] At Venice. His work was first published in England, anonymously, and not by himself, but dedicated to James I, in 1619.

[2] Cour. Pref. p. iv.

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more than two centuries maintained its rank "among the most admired historical compositions." [1]

His sarcastic representations.

With respect to that "malicious turn," which the Romanists especially charge him with having given to the "views and reasonings of the fathers of the council," and those "satirical strokes," which they complain that he has scattered throughout his work, the reader of the present chapter will fully understand what is meant. But it is due to our great author to remark, that those things which have occasioned these complaints appear here in a larger proportion than in the original work. It was natural that they should do so from our design in this review, which was not to give a complete history of the council, but only to present some of its most striking, in many instances, its *extraordinary* features.

Other authorities.

To this account taken from public histories of the council, we shall now subjoin the evidence of private correspondence of the highest authority.

It is long since the time of F. Paul, that the "Letters of Vargas" and other agents at Trent have come to light, and in the most striking manner completed the proof, how unworthy of all confidence was that council which has been allowed to fix, as far as it ever has been fixed, the faith of the Roman catholic church.

Vargas.

Don Francisco Vargas, fiscal, or remembrancer of the exchequer, to the emperor Charles V, attended the council as one of his ministers during the time of its session under the popes Paul III. and Julius III, and was the person

[1] Robertson, Charles V. iv. 76.

deputed by him to protest against its translation to Bologna. On that and every occasion he acquitted himself so as to obtain the highest character for talents, learning, and whatever else might render him worthy of his master's confidence. How good a catholic he was, notwithstanding the exposures which he makes of the tyranny and artifice of the pope and his ministers, and of the incompetence of the council, will appear from a passage which will be quoted, and in which he declares his belief, that, after all, "Christ will not suffer the fathers to err in their determinations," and that he shall therefore "bow down his head to them, and believe all matters of faith that shall be decided by them." A. D. 1563.

His correspondence was carried on with Granvelle, bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal Granvelle, who, as we have seen, was long the emperor's chief minister, and who, under Charles's son and successor Philip II, established his claim, in the Low Countries, to the title of "*the prince of papists.*"[1] Granvelle.

We shall add also a few extracts from letters of other agents, addressed to the same minister, particularly those of Father Malvenda — the same, I presume, with whom we have already become acquainted in the conference of Ratisbon, and in the affair of Diazius.[2] Malvenda.

[1] Dr. Geddes.

[2] Vol. i. 421, 436, 458.—The originals of all this correspondence came into the hands of the British envoy at Brussels, in the reign of James I; but, as it would appear, under the engagement, on his part, to keep them secret during the life-time of the parties who committed them to him. At length the papers were communicated by Sir W. Trumbull, secretary of state to king George I, and grandson of the ambassador who first received them, to bishop Stillingfleet; and by him they were committed for translation to Dr.

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We will arrange our extracts under distinct heads.

1. Precipitation and incompetence of the council.

I. The precipitation and incompetence of the council.

1551. Oct. 12. "To the prelates.... all things appear well at first sight; and, knowing nothing of matters until they are just ready to be pronounced, they pass them without any more ado."

Oct. 28. "I am extremely sensible that a great many things of a very high nature are handled here so slightly, and after such a manner as gives great discontent to the people: and, to speak the truth, I cannot see how either catholics or heretics can be satisfied with what is done."

Nov. 26. "This is all I shall say of reformation. As to their way of handling doctrines, I have a great deal to say of it.... It troubles one to see how those matters are managed and determined here, the legate doing whatever he has a mind to, without either numbering or weighing the opinions of the divines and prelates; hurrying and reserving to the last minute the substance of things, which ought to have been well weighed and digested; the major part not knowing what they are doing—I mean BEFORE the fact; for, *believing that Christ will not suffer them to err in their determinations, I shall bow down my head to them, and believe all the matters of faith that shall be decided by them.* I pray God, every body else may do the same!—But what is chiefly to be noted is, that the eminent divines that are sent hither by his majesty, namely, the dean and professors of Louvain, persons so famous for learning and

Michael Geddes, chancellor of Sarum, (well known for his works relative to Spain,) who published his translation of them at London, in the year 1714.

piety, are never called to the making of the canons and doctrines, or suffered to see whether there be any thing amiss in them." A. D. 1551.

"It is really matter of amazement to see how things appertaining to God are handled here, and that there should not be one to contend for him.... but that we should be all *dumb dogs that cannot bark*, and look on and suffer the miseries of the church to become incurable.... The authority not only of this, but of all councils for the future, is utterly destroyed."

"Of a hundred fathers assembled together any where, it is well if twenty of them are divines, and capable of understanding such matters; the greater part of them, though otherwise good men, being unlearned; and those that are learned are so in other faculties; or, if they understand any thing of divinity, it is but at second hand."[1]

"The legate and his faction industriously put off the examination of doctrines to the very last day."—"Considering that they (the fathers) have to correct the decrees upon a bare hearing them read, on the eve of the session, that must in my opinion hinder them from having that authority and majesty which such matters use to have. I pray God give them grace to mend this!" Oct. 12.

"It is certainly a great load upon some people's consciences, to consent to having the weightiest affairs of Christianity handled after such a manner."—"I pray God it (the council) may not do more harm than good, and especially to the Germans that are here; who seeing how little liberty it enjoys, and how much it is under the dominion of the legate, cannot possibly Nov. 22.

[1] Vargas, p. 14, 22, 43, (47,) 50, 153.

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have that respect and esteem for it as is convenient." [1]

2. Its subserviency to Rome.

II. Subserviency of the council to the pope and court of Rome.

Oct. 28. "All that is done here is done by the way of Rome; for the legate, though it were to save the world from sinking, will not depart one tittle from the orders he receives from thence; nor indeed from any thing that he himself has once resolved on."

Nov. 12. "Words and persuasions do signify very little in this place; and I suppose they are not of much greater force at Rome—those people having shut their eyes, with a resolution, notwithstanding all things go to wreck, not to understand any thing that does not suit their interests."—"I pray God the pope may be prevailed with to alter his measures; though, for my own part, I shall reckon it a miracle if he is, and shall thank God for it as such."

Nov. 26. "We do but tire ourselves in vain, since, without a miracle, nothing, wherein the pope and his court have any interests or pretensions, can be determined here but to our great prejudice."

It is "visible to the whole world, that all that was done was done at Rome—which was rejoiced at, and boasted of here."

The course taken "is, by artifice and dissimulation, so far to reduce the whole synod to the will of the pope, that it shall be the same thing for the pope alone to deliberate of things at Rome with his creatures, as for the fathers here assembled to do it—which is the truth of the matter, the council being really at Rome, and at Trent nothing but the execution of it: the substance of what is done here being sent

[1] Malvendà, p. 157, 158, 167.

hither determined from Rome, and being what the pope, and the cardinals deputed there to that purpose, and who meet together continually, have determined beforehand."[1] A. D. 1552.

III. Tyranny of the legates and emissaries of the pope. 3. Tyranny of the legates.

"The council being entirely deprived of its authority and freedom by the legate, who has taken it all entirely into his own hand." Nov. 12.

"Your lordship may be satisfied that there are not words to express the pride, disrespect, and shamelessness wherewith he (the legate) proceeds in these affairs....He says and does things that astonish the world; treating the prelates that are here as so many slaves; protesting and swearing, when he is displeased, that he will be gone immediately: by which means he carries whatever he has a mind to.... I am not able to express how much it troubles me to see God and his majesty thus dishonoured: but the thing speaks for itself. The prelates that are here do highly resent it, many of them reckoning that they wound their consciences by holding their tongues, and suffering things to be carried thus....I am persuaded, if other courses are not taken, that no offices will be able to restrain them much longer, they are so extremely scandalized." Nov. 26.

"The legate has got the seal into his possession, with which he does not care to trust the synod; than which, as nothing in the world can be more unreasonable, so it lets every body see that the synod is not for to exercise any authority."—"Denying the seal to the council, which is never to use it but when he shall think fit." Jan. 10. Jan. 13.

[1] Vargas, p. 23, 26, 27, 40, 143, 146, 154.

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"The legate has very ill designs going on, and appears to be resolute in them; for he
Jan. 25. goes about negotiating for votes, as if his life lay at stake: which he looks upon as a very honourable employment. I know the presidents,[1] particularly he of Verona, do not think well of this:....but the presidents are things the legate makes as little account of, as he does of other people."

Jan. 19. "I shall ere long give your lordship an account of a business you will be astonished at; which is the legate's having foisted several passages into the doctrine of Order, which must of necessity ruin all."[2]

Jan. 27. "I had forgot to write concerning the disturbance that is raised here by a clause in the doctrine of the sacrament of Order, into which, without our having it disputed, or so much as communicated to the prelates, they have foisted in the authority of the pope above the council, making as if there was no office in the church, bishopries not excepted, that are not of his donation and distribution—in contradiction both to the usage of the primitive church, and to the truth of things."[3]

"In the middle of voting," "when they have observed any prelate not to vote as they would have him, they have taken upon them to speak to it before another was suffered to vote, doing it sometimes with soft words, and at other times with harsh; letting others understand thereby how they would have them vote; many times railing at the prelates and exposing them to scorn; and using such methods as would make one's heart bleed to hear of, and much more to

[1] Two nuncios joined with him.
[2] Vargas, p. 28, 30, 31, (49, 103,) 84, 86, 96, 99.
[3] Malvenda, p. 176.

see.... all which notwithstanding, the legates go on still with their, *Dicant patres liberè;* ('Let the fathers speak their sentiments freely;') which, considering how they carry things, I wonder with what face or conscience they can pronounce those words."[1] A. D. 1562.

Most of these passages were written in the years 1551 and 1552, under the pontificate of Julius III, and the presidency of the legate Crescentio: but some of the papers carry back the representations to the period of the council under Paul III; (A. D. 1545 to 1547;) and the following extract from a letter of Lanssac's, the French ambassador, to the queen-mother of France, in 1562, extends them to the last period of the council, under Pius IV.

"Nothing being handled or proposed here but at the pleasure of the legates, who do nothing but what they are commanded to do from Rome; and who, when they have proposed any thing, of the sixty bishops that are here, thirty being Spaniards, and the rest Italians, our small handful.... if they offer any thing that the legates do not like, are interrupted, and their opinions not followed, every thing being carried by a majority,... most of which are either the pope's pensioners, or entrusted with some office in the court of Rome."[1] 1562. June 7.

IV. On the coming of the protestants—an object which the council affected earnestly to desire, though they never would encourage it by granting a satisfactory safe-conduct. 4. Coming of the protestants.

"Your lordship may be satisfied of what I know to be true, and have written formerly, which is, that there is nothing in the world the pope and his ministers abhor and dread so much, 1551. Oct. 7.

[1] Vargas, p. 140. [2] Lanssac, p. 209.

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as the coming of the protestants to the council: for we can plainly perceive that they are not themselves, nor in a condition to treat about any business, when they are brought to touch on that point.... So that, in truth, it is their whole business to abuse the world by pretending that they do hope and wish that the protestants would come, when at the same time they are contriving all the ways they can think of to shut the door against them."

1552. Jan. 13. "His soul" (the legate's) "is ready to leap out of his body to send those that are here home, and to keep the others from coming."[1]

1551. Oct. 12. "Let them" (the protestants) "come when they will, it will be bad news for the legate and his party; who, for that reason are willing to believe that they will never come; for they are all in a terrible fright, to think of the freedom they may take to speak concerning manners and discipline."[2]

1552. Jan. 24. "The ambassadors of Maurice and Würtemberg, among a few bad things, delivered so many that were good"—in a public congregation in which they were admitted to an audience—"that it was well the people did not hear them."[3]

"We hear the pope has sent the legate a severe reprimand for having admitted the protestants—Maurice's envoys and those of Würtemberg"—and giving them an audience.[4]

Letter of Dudithius, bishop of Knin.

We will close these extracts with part of a letter written by Andreas Dudithius Shardellatus, bishop of Tinia, or Knin, in Croatia, and afterwards of Five-Churches, in Hungary, to the emperor Maximilian II.—Dudithius is

[1] Vargas, p. 3, (14,) 86.
[2] Malvenda, p. 162.
[3] Bishop of Oren, p. 195.
[4] Vargas, p. 119, 121.

styled by Du Pin, "one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age."[1] He was sent, with another prelate, to represent the clergy of Hungary in the council; where, the same author says, his boldness and eloquence made him so much feared by the legates, that they successfully urged on the pope the necessity of procuring his recall. His letter will shew that a man who had himself witnessed the proceedings of the council, and taken part in its deliberations, could pass a severer censure on that assembly than we have found either F. Paul or any other writer doing.—Thus he records the facts he had witnessed, and the sentiments which they had led him to form. A. D. 1563.

"What good could be done in a council, in which the votes were not weighed but numbered. ... We daily saw hungry and needy bishops come to Trent, for the most part youths which did not begin to have beards, abandoned to luxury and riot, hired only to give their votes as the pope pleased. They were without learning or understanding, yet fit for the purpose, through their boldness and impudence. ... There was a grave and learned man who was not able to endure so great an indignity. He was presently traduced as being no good catholic, and was terrified, threatened, and persecuted, that he might approve things against his will. In fine, matters were brought to that pass, by the iniquity of those who came thither formed and trained for their work, that the council seemed to consist not of bishops, but of disguised maskers; not of men, but of images, such as Dædalus

[1] See account of him, Du Pin, vii. 204-5. He is not to be confounded with Drascowitz, one of the emperor's ambassadors, who, under the name of "the bishop of Five-Churches," takes a prominent part in the council.

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made, that moved by nerves which were none of their own. They were hireling bishops, who, as country bagpipes, could not speak but as breath was put into them. The Holy Ghost had nothing to do in this assembly. All the counsels given there proceeded from human policy, and tended only to maintain the pope's immoderate and shameful domination."—He then adds the sarcasm, before alluded to, that the spirit, which was to direct their determinations, was regularly sent them from Rome.[1]

[1] Appended to Brent's Father Paul, 784, 823: between which pages is inserted, both in Latin and English, a spirited letter of bishop Jewel's, justifying the English church in not sending deputies to the council.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SWISS REFORMATION—EARLY HISTORY OF ZWINGLE AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

A. D. 1516.

Subject.

HITHERTO our history has been, either professedly or virtually, confined to the German branch of the reformation. Dr. Milner, indeed, has interspersed in his part of the work some valuable remarks on Zwingle[1] and Œcolampa-

[1] *Zwingli* appears to be his name among the Swiss. In turning it into Latin, the *w* is of course changed, and he is called *Zuinglius*. But the name with the English termination seems sufficiently naturalized among us to be adopted. I have not thought so of *Ecolampade*, and therefore retain *Œcolampadius*, which is only a modified Greek version (according to the fashion of the times,) of his real name, *Hauschein*, which appears to signify a *house-lamp*, or lamp for domestic purposes.

Many of the continental names assume the form of the Latin genitive; Melchior *Adami*, Jacob *Andreæ*, &c. The Mac, and the Ap, and the O', prefixed to proper names; and, among ourselves, the word *son* affixed to them; the continental genitive form; the article (understanding υἱὸς) followed by the genitive case among the Greeks; as well as the Greek and Latin patronymics; appear all to have one common design, namely, in designating the son, to distinguish him by pointing out the father from whom he sprang. Thus *Adamson*, *Anderson*, perhaps Adams, Andrews, &c. would be our version of the names above-mentioned. Whether *Zwingli* is to be considered as one of these patronymic genitives, I know not.

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dius, and in my former volume I inserted, at the period it presented itself to me, an account of the deaths of those two great men, which could not fail to interest the Christian reader. But the Swiss reformation, which originated the other great branch of the church emancipated from the errors and domination of the papacy, demands a more full and distinct notice than it has yet received, either in this work, or in other ecclesiastical histories current among us.[1]

The Swiss people.

The Swiss, it is well known, are a peculiar and highly interesting people, who derive much of their character from the country in which their lot is cast. The inhabitants of an abrupt and mountainous district are likely, from the very necessity of the case, to be a hardy and industrious race, long retaining the original simplicity of their manners. Among them, also, the natural love of liberty will be encouraged to exhibit itself, by the facility which their country presents, for even a very small number of persons successfully maintaining their independence against the most numerous and powerful assailants.

The Helvetic Confederation.

Switzerland comprises thirteen cantons, with a number of other states dependent upon them or in alliance with them. The cantons are, by a common treaty, formed into one general body, of which each member, though sovereign within

[1] It is surprising how little account of Zwingle and the Swiss reformation is to be found in Mosheim. A single paragraph by the author, concerning Zwingle's opposition to indulgences, with a few short notes of extravagant *comparative* eulogy appended by the translator, and then subsequently an account chiefly of the controversies between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans, is the substance of what is given on the early history of this important branch of the reformation. Mosheim, 16th Cent. I. ii. 12, and III. ii. 2.

its own territory, is bound to support the rest against every foreign enemy. Certain members of the confederacy appear also to be more intimately bound to one another, by treaties of confraternity and co-burghership. The cantons are divided into eight *ancient*, Zuric, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris, which were associated during the former half of the fourteenth century, and five *new* cantons, Basle, Friburg, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, admitted into the league in the latter part of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Five of the cantons we shall find distinguished, both in modern times, and in the times of which we have to treat, as the Roman-catholic cantons, namely, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, and Zug; and four as the reformed cantons, Zuric, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen. Friburg and Soleure also are Roman-catholic, but apparently with a less bigoted zeal than the five: Glaris and Appenzel are mixed in their religion. The five new cantons are also termed *neutral;* because, in case of a rupture between the eight ancient cantons, they are bound not to espouse either party. Of the dependencies of the cantons, several are called *Common* Bailliages; the sovereignty of them belonging to several cantons in common, which alternately send a bailiff to preside over them for a limited term. The greatest part of the country was anciently under the protection of the empire, till protection being extended to dominion, and dominion converted into oppression, several of the cantons united, and asserted their independence, in the early part of the fourteenth century. Their example was followed by their neighbours, and, after a series

A. D. 1516.

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of heroic conflicts, the liberty of the whole Helvetic Confederation was established.[1]

It is obvious, that in such a country as this the reformation might proceed, without encountering any such powerful opponents as it had to contend with in Germany. Shut up within their own mountains, and each state free and independent within itself, the people had little to fear from either the pope or the emperor, or from any one but the members of their own union, whose powers were so equally balanced or duly checked, as to excite in them little apprehension of danger.

Religious state of the country.

Of the religious condition of Switzerland, previously to the reformation, and of the necessity which existed there for that great moral revolution, a sufficiently correct judgment may be formed from the account which has been given of the state of Christendom in general at that period.[2] "The church of Rome, at the commencement of the sixteenth century," says Ruchat, in the opening of his history, "had attained such a height of grandeur and power, that it seemed impossible that it should be disturbed. Especially in Switzerland any change of religion appeared hopeless, both on account of the strict alliance which subsisted with the pope, and of the extreme ignorance and corruption which prevailed. But it is in such circumstances," he piously adds, "that

[1] See "Travels in Switzerland" in the years 1776, 1779, 1785, 1786, by the late Archdeacon Coxe: a work replete with interest and information on every subject—save that of religion. When I speak of the *present* state of Switzerland, I in general refer to nothing more recent than the date of these travels.—I trust the reader may find the information collected in the above paragraph useful for *reference* in various parts of the succeeding history.

[2] Milner, vol. iv. first chapter on the Reformation.

God is pleased to work, that all the glory may be given to him. His sanctity could not permit him longer to tolerate the *frightful excess* of the disorders which reigned in the churches of Europe, where the Creator seemed to be entirely forgotten, and creatures substituted in his place. But God," the same writer goes on to observe, "must have his true worshippers, who shall *worship him in spirit and in truth:* and hence he raised up at this time, in almost all the states of Europe, (Italy itself not excepted,) pious, learned, and illustrious men, animated with a noble zeal for the glory of God and the good of his church. These great men arose all at once, as if by concert, though actually without any previous communication, against the dominant errors; and by their constancy and resolution, accompanied by the blessing of heaven, happily succeeded in drawing forth the light of the gospel from under the vessel which had covered it, and in effecting a reformation of the church."[1] A. D. 1516.

Zwingle, though he was the great apostle of the Swiss reformation, had had some precursors, who in a measure prepared his way, like the star that is the harbinger of the rising sun. Of these, as the accounts we have of them are brief and jejune, it may suffice to mention John Geiler, surnamed, from the place where he was brought up, Cæsaremontanus, or Keiserberger, and Thomas Wyttenbach. The former was a native of Schaffhausen, born in 1445, who "sowed," we are told, "the seeds of divine truth at Strasburg, for thirty-three years together, from 1477 to 1510, in such a Precursors of the reformation. Geiler.

[1] Ruchat refers back to his Preliminary Discourse on the necessity which existed for the Reformation.

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manner, as not so much to have prepared the way of reformation, as actually to have reformed the church of that city." He appears to have been held in high veneration for his sanctity and wisdom: and on this account he was treated with great kindness, and even familiarity, by the emperor Maximilian.[1] Wyttenbach was of a noble family at Bienne, and was born there in 1472. He was professor of divinity, first at Tubingen, and afterwards at Basle, and finally became pastor of his native town. At Basle, he had Zwingle, Leo Jude, and others who bore an important part in the work of reformation, for his pupils. Leo Jude commemorates him as a man "accomplished in all kinds of learning, as well as in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures, so that he was esteemed the phenix of his age. And from him," he says, "both Zwingle and myself derived whatever sound knowledge we have possessed."[1] Zwingle also says of him, that from him he had first learned "that Jesus Christ is made of God unto us righteousness, and the satisfaction for the sins of the world." He publicly disputed in the divinity schools against indulgences, and for the liberty of marriage to the clergy; and maintained "that the death of Christ is the only ransom of our souls."[2] As he lived to see his pupils carrying on successfully the great work of reformation, and to animate and coöperate with them in it, he will again claim our notice in the course of the following history. We proceed to Zwingle himself.

Wyttenbach.

Early history of Zwingle.

Ulric Zwingle was born January 1, 1484, or, as some say, not till 1487, in the county

[1] Mel. Adam, i. 3—6. Gerdes, i. 100.
[2] Gerd. i. 100, 101. Ruchat, i. 1, 127-8.

of Tockenburg, a dependency of the abbey of S. Gallen, at a place which, from its rude and mountainous situation, was called Wildenhaus. His father was of a respectable rank in life, having had the chief magistracy of the district confided to him. Our reformer is said to have been chiefly brought up, till he was ten years of age, with his uncle, an ecclesiastic, who held the office of a rural dean, and was a man of learning and probity.[1] He afterwards studied successively at Basle, Berne, Vienna, and then again at Basle. His removal to Vienna appears to have been occasioned by the attempts made by the Dominicans, at Berne, to induce him to join their order; which was contrary to his father's wishes.[2] During his second residence at Basle, he was a teacher of others, as well as a learner himself. From his earliest years he appears to have been the favourite of his masters, all of whom were captivated alike with his genius, and with the promising dispositions which he displayed. After having gone through his course of theology under Wyttenbach, and taken the degree of master of arts, he was called to the pastoral charge of the town of Glaris, in the year 1506. His tutor Wyttenbach, it seems, used subsequently to regret having wasted so much precious time, both his own and that of his pupils, on the frivolous refinements of scholastic philosophy and divinity. Zwingle kindly told him, that it was useless now to regret it; it was the misfortune of the times; and that they might be thankful for having been delivered from it, and must caution others, but could not them-

A.D. 1506.

He becomes pastor of Glaris. 1506.

[1] Beausobre, Hist. de la Ref. i. 249.

[2] Hess, Life of Zwingle, from Bullinger. Beausobre, i. 249.

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selves undo what was past. At Glaris he spent ten years: and during that time, especially, acquired his preparation for all that he afterwards achieved. Here it pleased God gradually to open his eyes to the disorders and corruptions of the church. Becoming sensible, likewise, that the most obvious and most necessary step towards a just acquaintance with divine truth is the diligent study of the scriptures; he, in order to that, resolved to apply himself to the original languages—for hitherto, it would seem, he was a proficient only in the Latin tongue. A most interesting manuscript still exists in the library of Zuric,—a copy of all S. Paul's Epistles, in the original Greek, with numerous annotations from the principal fathers, which Zwingle wrote out with his own hand, and then committed entire to memory.[1] He afterwards pursued the same course with respect to the other books of the New Testament. His friend Oswald Myconius, in his brief narrative concerning him, beautifully describes the devout conduct of his studies at this time. "After he had learned from Peter, that scripture is not of private interpretation, he directed his eyes upward to heaven, seeking the Spirit for his teacher; supplicating, in earnest prayer, to be taught in what manner best to search out the sense of the divine mind." He did not, however, confine himself to the inspired writers, or to authors approved by the church: he read the works of Ratramn, or Bertram, who taught the primitive doctrine of the sacrament, to the exclusion of transubstantiation; and those also of Wycliffe and

His study of the scriptures.

[1] "At the end is written an inscription in the Greek tongue, signifying, *Copied by Ulric Zwingle*, 1514." Coxe, Letter 9.

of Huss.[1] Referring to the close of this period, he afterwards says, "I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, when the name of Luther had never been heard in these parts:" thus "counting for nothing," observes Ruchat, "the labours of the preceding years, because during them he had preached human traditions, and not the word of God." A. D. 1516.

His testimony concerning himself and Luther.

But the passage, from which this citation from the reformer concerning himself is made, presents such a picture of his mind, and also shews so much on what grounds, and in what way he claimed priority, or rather independence, of Luther, that the substance of it may well deserve to be transcribed. It occurs in a work which he published in the year 1523. He says, "As I have happened to mention Luther, that most valiant and able servant of God, I will here introduce some observations which I have to make concerning him. It is not long since the great and mighty men of this world have begun to persecute the doctrine of Christ under the name of Luther; and not only to persecute it, but to endeavour to render it obnoxious; giving the name of *Lutheran* to every thing truly Christian, whoever may promulgate it: so that, even if a man who had never read the writings of Luther should preach the word of God purely and sincerely, he must immediately be stigmatized as a Lutheran. I myself have experienced this treatment. I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard in these parts. My manner of preaching was this, while the mass was yet in use: I expounded to the people the

[1] Hess, from J. J. Hottinger. Myconius de vit. Zuing. Ruchat, i. 4—6. Gerd. i. 101, 102.

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gospel which was read in the service of the mass : I expounded it, I say, not from the comments and figments of men, but solely by comparing scripture with scripture. At that time I was much addicted to the early doctors of the church, as more clear and pure than the moderns ; though some things in them did not satisfy me. In 1519, when I had removed to Zuric, I told the venerable the provost, and the other members of the chapter, that I would publicly explain the gospel of S. Matthew, still drawing my exposition not from human sources, but from scripture itself. In the beginning of that year, no one among us had heard any thing of Luther beyond this, that he had published against indulgences : on which subject he could not instruct me, as I had already learned under Dr. Wyttenbach that indulgences were nothing but vanity and imposture. Who then does not see that Luther's writings afforded me no assistance in my expositions of S. Matthew, which, to my astonishment, were attended by crowds of persons desirous of knowing the truth? I appeal even to you, ye enemies of the doctrine of Christ, whether any one at that period attempted to reproach me as a Lutheran? Why moreover did the Roman cardinals, who were then on an embassy at Zuric, and who attempted to corrupt me with Italian gold, never call me a Lutheran till after they had pronounced Luther a heretic—which they could never prove him to be? I say these things, and appeal to all the circumstances and proofs, to shew the audacity and insolence of certain great men, (made great from a very mean condition,) who attempt to stop and turn aside, by the name of Lutheranism, those who preach the

gospel of Christ. . . . . I began to preach the gospel before I ever heard the name of Luther. And, in order that I might do so, I ten years before[1] applied myself to the study of Greek, that I might draw the doctrine of Christ from the original source. What success I have had, I leave it to others to judge: but certainly Luther gave me no assistance, for I was ignorant of his very name when I learned to place all my reliance exclusively on the sacred scriptures. Luther, as far as I can judge, is a most gallant soldier of Jesus Christ, who studies the word of God with a zeal and diligence which have had no parallel for this thousand years. I care not if the court of Rome now pronounce me a heretic along with him. I say there has been no one (though I would not depreciate others,) who has attacked the pope with such a determined and undaunted spirit, since the popedom had an existence. But to whom is this noble proceeding of his to be ascribed? Is it from Luther or from God? Ask Luther himself. I know he will say it is from God. Why then do you ascribe other men's doctrines to Luther, when Luther himself ascribes his doctrine to God? Luther introduces no novelty: he only brings forth freely what is treasured up in the immutable and eternal word of God; pointing out and displaying the heavenly treasure to Christians who have been led to seek it from wrong sources. Nor does he heed what the enemies of God may attempt against it; or with what eyes they may look upon him, or how they may threaten him. Yet, all this notwithstanding, I do not choose to bear the name of Luther;

A. D. 1516.

[1] Or ten years *ago*: "ante decem annos." In the one case in 1506, in the other not till 1513.

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whose writings I have very little read: nay, I have often abstained from reading them, that I might not excite the prejudice of the papists.[1] Those of his works which I have read (I speak of his doctrines and sentiments, generally, for with his particular contentions I have nothing to do,) are sound, and founded on the word of God, so that no creature can overthrow them. I am not ignorant that he still allows many things to the weak, where he might do otherwise: for instance, I hear that he attributes some value to auricular confession: and in these things I do not subscribe to his sentiments. . . . .

"In the first place, then, they have condemned the brave soldier of Jesus Christ, Martin Luther; and then, in the next, they attach his name to those to whom it does not belong, that thus they may represent Christ's doctrine as sectarian and heretical. But suffer not, Christians, that the name of a man should be given to you: neither do you give it to others. Let not any one ask his neighbour whether he is a Lutheran, but what he thinks of the doctrine of Christ; whether he delights in the word of God; whether he is a Christian; that is, whether he is constantly working good towards God and his neighbour . . . . Luther did not die for us: he only points out to us Him from whom cometh all salvation. . . . .

"I will not allow therefore that the papists should call me a Lutheran, for I learned not the

[1] Zwingle's conduct with respect to the writings of Luther is stated to have been as follows: having sufficiently ascertained the nature of their contents, he recommended them to his people, but purposely abstained from reading them himself, for the reasons here assigned, and for that very important one with which he concludes the passage here recited. Myconius de vil. Zuing. p. 4. Gerdes, i. 105-6.

doctrine of Christ from Luther, but from the word of God. If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I also do. Although by his instrumentality (thanks be to God!) innumerable persons, and more than by mine, may have been led to Christ, yet I will bear no other name than that of Christ, my only leader, whose soldier I am. He shall assign me my service and my reward, as seemeth him good. A. D. 1516.

"All then, I think, may now understand why I am unwilling to be called a Lutheran, though no man esteems Luther more highly than I do. I will say also, that I never wrote a line to Luther, directly or indirectly; nor he to me. And why have I not? Certainly not for the fear of any man: *but that it might appear to all men how consistent and uniform is the Spirit of God, when we two, placed at such a distance from each other, and holding no intercourse together, write and teach the doctrine of Christ in such perfect harmony.* I compare not myself to Luther:[1] every one has what the Lord gives him: each one achieves that to which God leads him on."[2]

Remarks. We here at once feel ourselves to be in the company of a hero. Bold in asserting what he knows to be true and right, as respected himself, and in exposing the artifices of the enemies of divine truth, he is yet ready to do ample justice to the merits and services of his great compeer. It is moreover eminently as a *Christian* hero that he is here exhibited to us; referring all that is accomplished, either by himself or by others, to God who "worketh all and in all." No one can mistake the ground

[1] Rather perhaps, "I put not myself on an equality with Luther." *Non me comparo Luthero.*

[2] Zuinglii lxvii Artic. Op. i. fo. 37, 38.

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on which he so resolutely disclaims the name of Lutheran. It is from no petty jealousy of Luther, nor from any fear of the cross: the testimony which he thus publicly bears to that reformer, and the defiance which he holds out to the court of Rome and all other enemies, place him above every such suspicion: but he will not voluntarily consent to that, which would call into action a violent and unreasonable prejudice, and cause the doctrine of Christ to be rejected without examination. But how lamentable is it, that, so soon after this fine passage was written, Satan should have been permitted to sow the seeds of discord between these illustrious brethren, which led them subsequently to speak and write so differently of one another.

Independence of the two reformers, and question of priority between them.

Dr. Milner has introduced part of the above-cited passage in discussing the question of the priority of Luther or Zwingle, as a reformer. Their *independence* one of the other it must be allowed to establish; which is the point of much the greatest importance, not only as it may concern their honour, (for which we ought not to indulge too much jealousy,) but especially for the purpose insisted upon by Zwingle himself at the close of the passage,—leading us to admire the wonderful works of God in raising such mighty instruments of his grace to coöperate, without mutual communication; and "the consistency and uniformity of his Spirit," in leading them "to teach the doctrine of Christ in perfect harmony," the one with the other. With respect to the question of *priority* between them, it appears to me that those, who would deprive Luther of the honour of taking the lead in the great work of reformation, do not properly

distinguish between knowing, and even teaching the truth in a comparatively quiet way, and publicly raising the standard against reigning error, so as to draw general attention, and commence a revolution.[1] In the former way Zwingle might perhaps precede Luther; in the latter Luther certainly took the lead of Zwingle. Both of them had the knowledge of divine truth—of the doctrine of justification,[2] in particular—before the year 1517: in 1516 Zwingle preached the gospel at Glaris, and Luther, I apprehend, unquestionably taught it in his lectures at Wittemberg: for some time, I conceive, Zwingle had the advantage in point of knowledge,[3] and perhaps he had done more

A. D. 1516.

[1] Such also I find to be the judgment of Seckendorf, whose authority will be acknowledged to stand very high upon every such question. "We ought perhaps to distinguish," he says, "between the reading and explaining of the gospel, which, though rare at that time, was not without example, (as the case of Erasmus, and before him that of Wesselus shews,) and the open assailing of superstitions and abuses. In the latter Luther took the lead of Zwingle; though Zwingle previously possessed no inconsiderable knowledge of the gospel, and did not conceal what he knew." De Luth. i. 122 (l). That Zwingle's preaching of the gospel in 1516 did not involve the open exposure of popish errors will appear from the express testimony of Myconius, to be quoted in the text, in the next paragraph but one. Scultetus, himself of the reformed, and not of the Lutheran church, says of Luther's protest against indulgences, —"which was the *first* occasion of changing the popish religion." And again: "Though Luther was *first brought forth to the conflict*, he was not the only one," &c.; and then he mentions Zwingle, &c. as contemporary. Annal. p. 21, 22.

[2] In proof of the fact concerning Luther, see his Epistles, i. No. 9, partly quoted by Milner, iv. 328. (300.) Also this Continuation, vol. i. p. 233.

[3] Gerdes, i. 129, enumerates from Luther's successive works the popish errors which he retained after Zwingle had renounced them. Indeed his gradual and somewhat tardy emancipation from them is what he always records of himself.

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to disseminate it previously to the month of September, 1517, than Luther had done: particularly he seems *from the first* to have laid a broader basis for reformation, in the doctrine of the sole-sufficiency and exclusive authority of the holy scriptures, than Luther did in his protest against indulgences:[1] but at the era just mentioned Luther blew the blast which resounded throughout Christendom, when Zwingle's sentiments had been little heard of beyond the immediate sphere of his own labours; and thus he caused the astonished world so firmly to affix the name of Lutheran to the new doctrine, whether taught by Luther in Germany or by Zwingle in Switzerland, that for many years after no other distinctive appellation could obtain any currency.[2]

Such is the impression which has been made on my mind by all that has fallen in my way, bearing upon this question, in addition to what Dr. Milner has collected concerning it.[3]

Zwingle's preaching at Glaris.

But, though Zwingle "began to preach the gospel in 1516," we must not suppose that he as yet went all the length of the noble passage which we have quoted from him, written in 1523. Myconius himself gives us the following account of his mode of proceeding at Glaris. "He so taught the grace of the gospel as to make little or no mention of the

[1] Ibid. 121, 129, 264, 285.

[2] Thus the bishop of Lausanne applies the term "Lutheran" to the Swiss reformation as late as the year 1528; and the council of Rapperswyl does the same in 1531. Ruchat, ii. 326. iii. 354. Many other instances occur.

[3] Milner, v. 534—539. (1135—1140.) To one document, the pope's brief to Zwingle in 1523, which Dr. Milner considers as "a decisive testimony," it will hereafter be seen that I can attach no such importance.

abuses of the Romish church. He wished that the truth, being received into the hearts of men, should there perform its office; for, when the truth is perceived, falsehood is easily detected. The times did not allow of a different procedure: for, amid such perverseness and malignity as prevailed, the truth would have been utterly lost before the abuse of religion could have been corrected."[1] In ordinary circumstances the course here prescribed, of preaching the truth, and leaving error to fall before it, without a direct attack, may be allowable, or even, to a certain extent, advisable: but not where enormous errors, both doctrinal and practical, like those of the church of Rome, were in full possession of the field. Luther entered into no such calculations as Myconius here suggests, and he succeeded. And indeed, only a short time afterwards we shall find Zwingle himself adopting a different course, and exhorting others to do the same. His early caution, however, entirely commends itself to the approbation of Beausobre, who seems to make the reformer labour to correct the *manners* of his hearers, as a step previously requisite to instructing them in the *truths* of the gospel, instead of preaching the gospel to them as the divinely appointed means of delivering them from their vices.[2] Indeed, if I understand Myconius aright, who records the conduct on which we are commenting, he does not mean to justify it. He seems rather to recount what had been the early reasonings of his friend, than what were his own present sentiments. A. D. 1516.

Though, however, Zwingle was rather pre-

[1] In vit. Zuing. p. 3.

[2] Hist. de la Ref. i. 252.

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paring to be a reformer, than had actually become such, during his residence at Glaris, his ministrations there were doubtless very useful; and they proved the means of raising up some persons who afterwards became serviceable to the reformation. Among these Fridolin Brunner, and Valentine, Peter, and Giles Tschudi are particularly mentioned. Here also he attached to him Henry Lorit, an accomplished scholar, better known by the name of Glareanus, which he derived from his native canton. For some years this person appeared to take a lively interest in the progress of reform: but he was of the school of Erasmus; was inflated with the vanity of learning, and the ambition of poetic celebrity; and, when reproach was to be incurred, he abandoned the party of the reformers—I fear we must conclude with Ruchat, "having loved this present world."[1]

Glareanus.

Expeditions into Italy.

During Zwingle's residence at Glaris, he, in the years 1513 and 1515, according to the custom of the Swiss, accompanied the troops which marched into Italy, to assist the pope and the emperor against the French, in the wars of Milan. On the former of these occasions he witnessed a signal victory of his countrymen, and on the latter a great disaster at the famous battle of Marignano. Here he at least attempted to render important services, and himself received considerable honours: but he obtained such views of the consequences of the practice adopted by the Swiss, of letting out their troops to the different parties in quarrels which belonged not to them, as decided his own future conduct, and

[1] Ruchat, i. 7, 8. Gerdes, i. 102-3. ii. 248. et Docum. p. 151. Œc. et Zuing. Epist. 189.

through his means produced a renunciation of the practice on the part of some of the cantons.[1] A. D. 1516.

Abbey of Einsidlin.

It was soon after his return from his second Italian expedition, that Zwingle received an invitation which removed him to a new and somewhat extraordinary scene of labour. In the canton of Schweitz there exists a rich and magnificent foundation of the Benedictines, which was then, and is even to the present day, the grand resort of superstition in Switzerland. This is the abbey of Einsidlin, or of "our Lady of the Hermitage." It may be called, says Ruchat, "the Ephesian Diana," or "the Loretto of Switzerland." It is asserted that when, about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, the bishop of Constance, the abbot of S. Gallen, and other dignitaries, were about to consecrate this convent, they were forbidden to proceed by a supernatural voice, declaring that God himself had already consecrated it; or, as other versions of the story give it, that the Redeemer, assisted by a choir of angels, fathers, and martyrs, had performed the service in person, "according to the rites of the Roman church," and, as a proof of the fact, had left the print of the fingers of his right hand miraculously impressed upon a stone. This stone continued to be the object of adoration till the year 1802, when a part of the chapel was destroyed. In commemoration of the extraordinary event thus recorded, a festival, styled "the Angels' Consecration," was observed once in seven years, to the time when Archdeacon Coxe visited the place, about fifty years ago, and probably is

[1] Hess, 25—50.

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observed to the present day. The great object of attraction, however, was and is a miraculous image of the Virgin, by which unnumbered cures are said to be performed, and to which, in consequence, crowds of pilgrims resort from all quarters, to pay their devotions and present their offerings, and to receive that "full remission of all their sins, both guilt and punishment," which an inscription, supported by the figure of an angel, assures them is thus to be found. Dr. Coxe tells us that he himself saw "several hundreds, in groups of different numbers," approach the place, and that some of them "consisted of a whole parish, attended by their spiritual pastor." "It is computed," he says, "that, upon the most moderate calculation, their number amounts yearly to a hundred thousand."[1] Such is popery, even to the present hour, where it is predominant; and that in a free country, surrounded by an enlightened population, and within sight of protestant establishments!

The Administrator and the Abbot.

The administrator of the abbey, the guardian I presume of its temporalities, at this time was Theobald baron Geroldseck, and the abbot, (by office a prince of the empire,) Conrad of Rechenberg. The former was a zealous patron of men of learning and piety; and the latter a man averse to superstition; who had so little opinion of the sacrifice of the mass, that, when urged by the visitors of the convent to celebrate it, he replied, "If Jesus Christ is really present in the host, I am unworthy to look upon him, much less to offer him in sacrifice to the Father: and, if he is not there present, wo unto me if I present bread to the people as

[1] Coxe, Letter 7. Hess, 50—55.

the object of their worship, instead of God!"[1] These distinguished persons, influenced by the fame of Zwingle's zeal and learning, invited him to accept the office of minister of the abbey church.[2] Zwingle did not hesitate to accept the call, as it presented to him the prospect of extended usefulness among the multitudes of persons who visited the place from all parts, and at the same time would afford him peculiar advantages for prosecuting his studies, by the aid of the library, and in conjunction with the learned inmates of the house. Accordingly he removed thither in the autumn of the year 1516; to the great regret of the citizens of Glaris, who insisted on his continuing to draw his accustomed salary from them for two years, in the hope that he might be induced to return.[3] The fame of Zwingle, and the character of the administrator, drew a number of learned men to Einsidlin. Zwingle contracted an intimate friendship with Francis Zingk, Michael Sander, and John Œchslin. The first of these was a chaplain of the apostolic see, and a man of great learning and piety. The last of the three afterwards suffered severe persecution in the cause of the reformation. These persons united with Zwingle in the diligent study of the learned languages, and of the fathers, (whose works were then in the course of publication at Basle,) of the writings of Reuchlin, or Capnio, the reviver of Hebrew literature, and of Erasmus.[4] He kept up also a regular

A. D. 1516.

Zwingle becomes minister of the Abbey Church.

His associates,

and correspondents.

[1] Scultetus, 24. from Bullinger.

[2] "A large and magnificent building." Coxe.

[3] Myconius. Ruchat, i. 8—11. Gerd. i. 104.

[4] Mycon. Ruchat. i. 11. Hess. Ruchat adds to the list of Zwingle's associates at Einsidlin, Leo Jude, whom he

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correspondence with Wolfgang Fabricius Capito (then of Basle,) and Caspar Hedio—men whose names are famous in the history of the reformation; as well as with Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, Glareanus, John Faber, grand vicar of the bishop of Constance, and many others. The letters of these learned men are full of commendations of his knowledge, and of the services which he rendered to the church. They bear unequivocal testimony, therefore, to the general estimation which he had been able to conciliate, and to the hopes which were entertained from him:[1] though they would have led us to suspect that he had not yet so far committed himself, as the facts about to be recorded shew him to have done during his residence at Einsidlin. But suspicion was not yet fully awake; and men, whose talents and character supported them, might as yet go further, without exciting alarm, than after a revolt had actually taken place. The politic court of Rome would allow considerable latitude to eminent men, provided they still recognized its supremacy.

His preaching at Einsidlin.

Striking accounts are given of Zwingle's preaching in his present extraordinary situa-

makes his curate there. But it would seem that Leo *succeeded*, and not *assisted*, Zwingle in the church of the abbey. Gerd. i. 107. Beausobre, i. 260 (*b*).

[1] Hess, from J. J. Hottinger. J. H. Hottinger, vi. 244, &c. dwells largely on the renown of Zwingle, and the eulogiums bestowed upon him from all quarters.—The first of the correspondents above mentioned (Capito) writes to Bullinger: "Before Luther had emerged into the light, Zwingle and I held communications together, even while my friend lived at the Hermitage, (Einsidlin,) concerning casting the pope down from his eminence." Gerd. i. 103. Still this was only contemplation, not action.

tion, and of the degree of reform which, supported by the administrator, he was enabled to introduce. He taught his audience "to seek the pardon of their sins, not from the blessed Virgin, but in the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ." He proclaimed to the multitudes of pilgrims, selecting especially for that purpose the festival of the consecration, "that little account was to be made of indulgences, pilgrimages, vows, and offerings presented to the patroness of the Hermitage; that the grace of God was equally attainable in one place as in another; and that he was as ready to hear prayer at their own homes as at Einsidlin; that the honours rendered there and elsewhere to the Virgin were derogatory to the honour of God; that there was no such place as purgatory; and that the merit of the monastic life was nothing but a vain imagination."[1] A modern writer, who has exhibited perhaps a somewhat embellished representation of the reformer's discourses to this effect, thus describes the impression made by them. "Language so unexpected produced impressions difficult to describe. Admiration and indignation were painted alternately on every face while Zwingle was speaking; and, when at length the orator had concluded his discourse, a confused murmur betrayed the deep emotions he had excited. Their expression was restrained at first by the holiness of the place; but, as soon as they could be freely vented, some, guided by prejudice or personal interest, declared themselves against this new doctrine: others felt a fresh light breaking in upon them, and applauded what they

A. D. 1516.

[1] Ruchat, i. 41—43.

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had heard with transport.[1]" The description is sufficiently probable; but, whether it be fully borne out or not, the following facts are established by the records of the times. Some of the pilgrims were seen to return, and carry back with them the tapers and offerings which they had brought to present to the Virgin; and, though this must necessarily have excited the resentment of the monks, by making them apprehend the diminution of their revenues, Zwingle appears to have lost no ground with his superiors; on the contrary, he so completely carried the administrator, and it would seem the abbot also along with him, as to procure the removal of the offensive tablet (long since restored,) which promised plenary remission of sins to those who visited the shrine; and to lead them to bury the relics of certain saints, and so far to reform a neighbouring nunnery dependent on the abbey, as to dispense with the repetition of the canonical hours by the inhabitants, and to recommend to them, in lieu of it, the reading of the scriptures translated into the German language. Nay, such of them as did not feel in themselves a call to a devoted life were even allowed to enter again into the world, and to contract marriage.[2]

Its effects.

His communications with Cardinal Schinner,

About the same time, Zwingle had the opportunity of conversing, at Einsidlin, with the celebrated Matthew Schinner, cardinal of Sion;

[1] Hess, 61—66. This author, I perceive, draws his report of Zwingle's discourses from one which he published, and dedicated to his brothers, in 1522, on "the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Redeemer Jesus Christ." But whether that discourse was really of an earlier date, and had been delivered at Einsidlin, I have not discovered. Zuing. Op. i. fo. 340—351, particularly 349 (a).

[2] Hess, from Bullinger and J. J. Hottinger. Ru. i. 43, 44.

(in the Vallais;) and he availed himself of it seriously to impress upon his consideration the effects of human traditions, and of the whole train of external observances which were mistaken for piety and holiness; averring that, if the evil were not remedied, religion must utterly go to ruin. He exhorted him to use his utmost efforts to ward off so fatal an event, and to excite the other dignitaries, who had the chief direction of the affairs of the church, sincerely and earnestly to undertake the work of reformation. The cardinal professed to enter into his views, and promised to do all in his power to promote the desired object: but, whether from loss of influence or from want of inclination, he went not beyond the use of fair words.[1] Zwingle, as was the case also with Luther for some time, had not yet learned that the whole system of the church of Rome is corrupt, and founded on corruption; and that it does not therefore admit of reformation. The only resource is, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." A. D. 1517.

and with the Pope's legates.

He spoke to the same purport to the successive papal legates, Ennius and Pucci;[2] and solicited the support of his diocesan, Hugh de Landenberg, bishop of Constance, in the course which he should deem it incumbent on him to pursue. He told him, that he himself, and other divines who had had the happiness to discover the truth, felt themselves in conscience bound to proclaim it, and to oppose errors, and assail abuses.[3]

[1] Zuing. Op. i. 230. Ru. i. 41, 42. Hess, 67.
[2] Ruchat, i. 15, 17. Gerd. i. 263.
[3] Ruchat, i. 54, 55.

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Still, however, he had not drawn upon himself the displeasure of the see of Rome. On the contrary, we find at this time a proof of the estimation in which he was held, in a diploma sent him by Leo X. through the legate Pucci, constituting him a chaplain acolothist of the holy see.[1] Nor was it till two years afterwards that he voluntarily renounced his pensions from Rome, feeling that he could no longer innocently retain them.

He receives a diploma from the Pope. 1518.

Before taking leave of Einsidlin, it may be satisfactory to the reader to be informed of the subsequent history of the abbot and the administrator. The former died in the year 1526, after having banished almost all superstitious observances from his abbey. Indeed, he had only two monks remaining attached to it. A little time before his death, when Leo Jude, the successor of Zwingle in the abbey church, was disputing in his presence with a monk on some abstruse points, he feelingly and piously observed, "What does all this signify? For my part, I wish with my last breath to cry with David, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness! Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord!* I concern myself about nothing else." It is

Subsequent history of the abbot, Rechenberg,

[1] J. H. Hottinger gives the diploma at length, which is sufficiently eulogistic. Hist. Eccl. vi. 274—277. I have felt somewhat embarrassed between the date of this instrument, and the description which it gives of Zwingle's situation. It is dated in September, 1518, three months only before Zwingle removed from Einsidlin to Zuric: yet it describes him as rector of Glaris, without mentioning Einsidlin. We have seen that he was allowed to draw his stipend from Glaris for two years: and I apprehend that he was considered as still retaining his benefice there; for at the expiration of the two years, Ruchat says, "He resigned entirely and for ever *the church* of Glaris." i. 58.

scarcely necessary to add, that on the approach of death he dispensed with all the rites of the Romish church. The Baron Geroldseck was one of those who fell with Zwingle in the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531. In 1523 Zwingle dedicated to him his Essay on the canon of the mass, and took that occasion of affectionately acknowledging "his paternal kindness," and of praising his constancy in the cause of religion. He had not been one, he says, "who, having put his hand to the plough, had looked back. No storm of adversity had ever availed in the least to turn him aside; which must be considered as an argument of his unfeigned faith." It is delightful to read such testimonies of men occupying such stations, and brought up as they must have been. Beausobre says that Geroldseck was compelled to resign his office, on account of his patronage of the reformation; which it was likely should be the case, considering the situation of the abbey, in a zealously popish canton; though I have not found the fact elsewhere recorded.[1]

A. D. 1518. and the administrator, Geroldseck.

During the residence of Zwingle at Einsidlin, he had become advantageously known to several persons of consideration at Zuric, either by their being attracted to become his occasional hearers, or by his visits to their city. In consequence, when a vacancy occurred in the office of pastor of the principal, or cathedral, church, a wish prevailed that he should be invited to accept the charge. Among those who zealously promoted this object was Oswald Myconius, master of the public school at Zuric, and in high esteem there for his piety,

Zwingle removes to Zuric. 1518.

[1] Ru. i. 401. iii. 426. Gerd. iv. 335. Zuing. Op. i. 176 (b). Beausobre, i. 261.

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learning, and intelligence. In a considerable degree through his influence, the chapter offered the vacant situation to Zwingle, who, after proper deliberation, resolved to accept it; though its emoluments were less than those of which he was already in possession. Indeed, on that subject he declined to stipulate for any terms whatever.[1] It opened to him, he conceived, the prospect of greater and more permanent usefulness, than he could calculate upon in a station where every thing might seem to depend upon the lives, and the continued favour, of two individuals, the administrator and the abbot. "It could scarcely be," he said to himself, "but that, if the grace of Christ were preached and received in so celebrated a city as Zuric, the rest of Switzerland should follow the example." This was his one object; and he would allow himself to look to no other. He quitted Einsidlin, therefore, though with much sacrifice of feeling both to himself and to those whom he was leaving, and removed to Zuric in the month of December, 1518; and in this case, as in that of his removal from Glaris, the most honourable testimony was borne to him by the authorities under which he had lived;—the landamman, or first magistrate, and the council of Schweitz addressing to him a letter expressive of regret for the loss which their country sustained by his departure, though they trusted it would prove to his advantage.[2]

[1] "Non petiturum ab eis quicquam." Myconius. Mel. Ad. i. 13.

[2] Ruchat, i. 55—57. Gerd. i. 106. Neither on occasion of his removal from Glaris or from Einsidlin, has Zwingle escaped the senseless and malignant calumnies of the monks, as if he had been driven from his successive stations in

A. D. 1518.

A great degree of ignorance and corruption of manners, both among the clergy and the laity, appear to have prevailed at that time at Zuric. "Letters wanted a restorer; both the governors and the governed an intrepid censor, who should dare to recal them to their respective duties; and fainting religion a minister capable of rekindling its ardor, and restoring its influence upon manners."[1] And all this Zwingle was well qualified to become.

State of Zuric.

A few days after his settlement there, he was called to meet the chapter. When the mutual civilities, and the ceremonies of the occasion, had passed, he undertook to explain to them the plan of public instruction which he intended to adopt; of which we have already heard some hints from his own pen. Instead of confining himself, as was customary, to a meagre explanation of the gospel or epistle of the day, passages which constantly recurred from year to year, and thus limiting the acquaintance of the people with the scriptures to a few detached portions, he proposed, in the first place, to expound and apply the whole of the evangelical history, beginning with the gospel of S. Matthew, and that "not from human traditions," as he said, "but according to the mind of the Spirit, which he did not doubt that, by means of earnest prayer to God, and diligently comparing scripture with scripture, he should be able to discover." And all this, he trusted, "would tend to advance the glory of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to promote the salvation of

His plan of preaching there:

disgrace. I have not thought the charges worth retailing; content with recording the facts which refute them, and shew the esteem in which he was held. See Ruchat i. 10, and 56-7.

[1] Hess, 73—84.

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souls, and the edification of the people in the true Christian faith." Though some of the canons heard his proposals with pleasure, others objected to the plan as an innovation. But to the latter he shewed, from the sermons and homilies of S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine, that it was no other than a return to the ancient practice of the church, and that the custom which had superseded it was of no older date than the time of Charlemagne. Accordingly he proceeded to execute his design, and preached his first sermon on Christmas-day, 1518.[1] His new and spirited style of preaching drew constantly a crowded audience to the church, and made a strong impression on their minds. Some, as might have been expected, took offence at the manner in which, while he set forth the truths of the gospel, he exposed superstition and hypocrisy; thundered against the reigning vices of the times—idleness, intemperance, and oppression of the poor; and thus disturbed the consciences of many, and swept away the "refuges of lies" in which they had reposed.[2] Others blessed God for sending them such a preacher, who, as they simply but forcibly expressed it, told them "things as they really were." On the ground of his opposition to indulgences, (of which we shall shortly have to give a more particular account,) he had at this time the countenance and support of John Faber, already mentioned as the grand vicar of the bishop of Constance,—within whose diocese Zuric, as

[1] Myconius. Melch. Adam says, Jan. 1, 1519, his birth-day.

[2] Myconius observes: "He carried with him such authority in reproving sin and sinners, as I never witnessed in any other man."

well as Einsidlin, lay. Faber assured him that the bishop was determined no longer to endure the pride and insolence of the pope. But, if that prelate had ever done more than express such a sentiment in a moment of irritation, he did not long retain it, and it had no practical results: for Zwingle's repeated and urgent solicitations could never induce him to take one step towards the reformation of the church. The zealous and indefatigable labours of the reformer, however, were attended with the most encouraging success at Zuric. At the expiration of a year, notwithstanding much formidable opposition,[1] he was able to reckon as many as two thousand persons who were so far, at least, his converts, as to avow his sentiments.[2] A. D. 1519. and its effects.

The reader will not be unwilling to peruse this great man's account of his own proceedings as a preacher at Zuric, written in the year 1523. "It is now four years ago that I preached through the whole gospel of Matthew . . . . I then proceeded to the Acts of the apostles, that the church of Zuric might see in what manner, and by what persons, the gospel was at first propagated in the world. Next followed the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy; which, as exhibiting the rules of the conduct that becomes Christians, seemed admirably calculated to form a consistent and well-ordered flock. As some now appeared not to be sound in the faith, I deferred the His own account.

[1] On account of the exposure of the abuses of the church, and of the sins of the people, "there passed not an hour in which there were not dangerous consultations, of both the priests and the profane, against the assertors of truth and holiness." Mycon.

[2] Ruchat, i. 57, 62, 66, 71. Gerdes, i. 106, 263.

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second Epistle to Timothy till I had gone through that to the Galatians; and then I explained *it* also. Some pretenders to wisdom then began impiously to say, 'Who, after all, is Paul? is he not a man like ourselves? Though he might be an apostle, he was but of an inferior order,—not one of those who personally conversed with Christ. Aquinas or Scotus is more to be relied on than he.' Such being the case, I next brought forward the two Epistles of Peter, the chief of the apostles, that they might clearly see whether one spirit did not animate both him and Paul, and whether both did not speak the same things. I have since entered upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the people might more fully understand the benefits and the glory of Christ. Hence they will learn, and indeed have in some degree learned, that he is the great High Priest; and that he, by his *one offering*[1] of himself, once offered, *hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified.*—Such are the things which we have *planted:* Matthew, Luke, Paul, Peter have *watered* them; and God hath given a wondrous *increase,*—which *I* will not be the person to proclaim, lest I should seem to seek my own glory, and not that of Christ.

"Go now and say, if you can, that this plantation is not of our heavenly Father's planting. —Thus, by no cunningly devised modes of address, but in the use of simple words of our own country's native growth, I have led the people to the knowledge of their disease—following our Lord's example, who commenced from this point. I have withdrawn no man from connexion with his proper pastor, provided he were

[1] "Hostia," the word for *the host.*

a true pastor, and not a thief and a robber. From what source I derived the *discipline* of the church, I have already shewn.[1] I have earnestly exhorted the people to hold fast the glory of our profession[2]; *having a great High Priest, Jesus the Son of God, who is passed into the heavens;* and not to *seek honour one of another*—a practice which led away the Jews from faith in Christ.[3] As much as in me lieth, I withdraw men from confidence in any creature, to the only true God, and Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord; in whom *whosoever believeth shall never die.* With all the earnestness of which I am capable, I urge them to seek pardon from him, who invites us to turn to him even when we have sinned, saying, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.* This word of his I so firmly believe, that, should circumstances require,[4] I think I have no need of either bishop or priest to make satisfaction for me: for Christ hath done that, who *gave himself an offering for us,* and hath *washed us from our sins in his own blood.* I reverence the whole order of presbyters (or priests) as the angels (or messengers) of God: but I abhor those *whose God is their belly.* I bear, however, even with these, and suffer the tares to grow among the wheat. I exhort men *to pray without ceasing;* but to do it with the spirit and the heart; *in spirit and in truth,* as our Lord's words are; and to persevere therein with an importunity which might seem

A. D. 1519.

[1] From the Epistles to Timothy.

[2] He seems to combine τὸ καύχημα τῆς ἐλπίδος, Heb. iii. 6. with Heb. iv. 14. [3] John v.

[4] Qu. If he should die in circumstances in which he could receive no ministerial assistance.

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to be wearisome—according to the parable of the widow."[1]

Such a view of his ministry, and of the spirit in which it was conducted, must be gratifying to every pious reader: and we could not but expect a great blessing to rest upon it—as we have seen was actually the case.

His co-adjutors.

In order more successfully to prosecute his work, which grew upon his hands, he engaged the assistance of two able and zealous persons, George Stéhelin and James Wisendanger, or Ceporinus. The former was a native of Schweitz, and had been curate of Baden, where he was distinguished for his zealous labours. The latter was a young man of the canton of Zuric, whom, on account of his skill in the learned languages, Zwingle had recommended to the council as a professor of Greek and Hebrew in an academical institution, which, at the reformer's suggestion, they had founded. Zwingle both to incite others, and to improve himself, did not scruple to attend Ceporinus's lectures. Indeed he all this time pursued his studies, as well of the ancient classic authors, as of sacred literature, with unwearied assiduity.[2]

[1] Zuing. in Archetele. Op. i. 132 (b).

[2] Ruchat, i. 71. Gerd. i. 264. Myconius mentions the following Greek authors as studied by him at this period: Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Hesiod, Aristophanes, &c. The same biographer records his habits, and the distribution of his time. He constantly studied *standing*. From the time of rising in the morning till ten o'clock; he applied himself to reading, translating, writing, &c. After dinner he received those who came to him on business or for advice, or walked with his friends, till two o'clock; and then resumed his studies. After supper, he walked a short time; after which he devoted his hours to correspondence, sometimes till midnight. Frequently he was called upon to assist at the deliberations of the senate.

A. D. 1520.

The fundamental point, which Zwingle had been led every where to enforce, from the time that his eyes were first in any degree opened to discern the truth, was, the necessity of an undivided and unreserved adherence to the written word of God, as the only standard of truth and duty: the obligation to receive whatever it taught, and to reject whatever was not agreeable to its decisions. And so great was the impression which he had now made, that, in the course of his second year's residence at Zuric, the supreme council was induced to publish an edict, enjoining all incumbents, preachers, and persons having the cure of souls, to teach nothing which they could not prove from the sacred scriptures, and to pass over in silence the mere doctrines and ordinances of men.[1]

Edict for teaching conformably to the Scriptures.

At this time his old master, Wyttenbach, who had been since the year 1515 the faithful pastor of Bienne, hearing of his labours and his success, wrote to him to congratulate and encourage him, and was himself the more emboldened to preach zealously against the errors of popery; which he continued to do to the end of his life.[2]

Wyttenbach.

But it is time that we should advert to Zwingle's opposition to the general indulgence published by Leo X. The publication took place a year later in Switzerland than in Saxony: and, though it did not give the first occasion to Zwingle's reformation, as it did to

Publication of Indulgences,

Thus we see by what means great things have been accomplished—namely, by devotedness to a worthy object, and indefatigable diligence in pursuit of it. I hardly call it selfdenial, because to such minds their labours are their pleasure.

[1] Ru. i. 72. Gerd. i. 264. [2] Ru. 67, 128, 407.

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that of Luther, yet it called forth his efforts in a more public manner, and no doubt greatly contributed to advance the objects which he had at heart. In the month of August, 1518, by Samson. Bernardin Samson, a Franciscan of Milan, deputed by Christopher Forli, the general of his order, to whom the pope had given his commission, entered Switzerland, and there executed the service entrusted to him with as much effrontery, indecency, and extortion as the notorious Tetzel had practised in Germany. Zwingle was at that time stationed at Einsidlin, and it is against the imposture thus practised upon the Christian world that we must suppose those discourses, of which some specimen has been given, to have been specially directed. Through the opposition of our reformer, Samson had little success within the canton of Schweitz. He thence proceeded in succession to Zug, Lucerne, and Underwalden, where he found a better market for his commodities. His proceedings at Berne. But it is of his proceedings at Berne that we have the most particular account. Wherever he went he took care to send emissaries before him, possessed of influence and address calculated to prepare his way. Through such means the reluctance which the citizens of Berne had at first manifested to receive him was overcome. He accordingly entered their town with a splendid retinue, under banners displaying jointly the arms of the pope and of the cantons; exhibited his letters of credence with great pomp in the cathedral church; and celebrated high mass, before a crowded assembly. He then produced for sale his bulls of indulgence, varying in price from a few pence to the sum of five hundred ducats, according to the benefits which they were to confer, and the

circumstances of the purchasers. Some were applicable to individuals only, others extended to whole communities, and to those of past generations as well as of the present. On the last Sunday of his stay at Berne, he convoked the people to the cathedral by the ringing of the bells, and there, mounted upon an altar, in the midst of the assembly, caused the following extraordinary graces to be proclaimed by the mouth of one of the canons:[1] "1. That all persons present, who should confess their sins on their knees, and should repeat three paters and three aves, should, by virtue of the merit of Jesus Christ and all the saints, and through the power and grace (or favour) of the pope, receive absolution of all their sins, both guilt and punishment, and should be pure and clean from all sin, as they had been immediately after baptism. 2. That all those who should that day make the circuit of the church, and repeat one devout prayer, should deliver a soul, to be selected by themselves, out of purgatory." After the whole multitude had fallen on their knees, and recited five paters and as many aves, for the relief of the departed, he cried out, "Now all the souls of the Bernese, in whatever place or manner they may have died, are, altogether, and at the same moment, delivered, not only from the pains of purgatory, but from the torments of hell, and are raised to heaven."[2] Such were the

A. D. 1518.

[1] His name was Henry Lupulus, or Wœlflin. It is to be hoped he was not the person, or the son of the person, of the same name, who had been Zwingle's schoolmaster at Berne.

[2] It is to be remembered that only those who die not in mortal sin can be admitted to purgatory. Here, therefore, is the deliverance of the wicked and impenitent from eternal

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impious and shameless impositions which the emissaries of the Romish church were permitted, and even deputed, to practise upon the pitiable ignorance and credulity of its deluded votaries![1]

At Baden.

At Baden, Samson daily, after the celebration of mass, made a procession round the burial ground, chanting the office for the dead: at the end of which he cried aloud, *Ecce volant!* "See, they fly!" meaning that, in virtue of his indulgences, the souls flew from purgatory to heaven. It is said that one of his hearers, to put that ridicule upon such a proceeding which it deserved, ascended the belfry of the church, taking a pillow with him, and thence, shaking out the feathers, repeated the words of the monk *Ecce volant!* "They fly! they fly!" The offence was thought to deserve the gibbet or the stake: but the offender was suffered to escape, on the plea that he wanted understanding; though it may be doubted whether he did not display more than any other person concerned.[2]

Inhibited by the bishop of Constance. 1519.

Here, however, the proceedings of the frontless monk were destined to receive a check; and he was soon to be turned back, in merited disgrace, to the place whence he had come. He had now entered the diocese of the bishop of Constance, without asking his sanction, or exhibiting to him the authority under which he acted. These extraordinary indulgences of the pope were always offensive to the bishops, parish priests, and confessors, who regarded them as invading their rights, and

punishment, and not only that of good, but imperfect, men from purgatorial pains.

[1] Ru. i. 38—40, 44—50. Gerd. i. 79, 106, 122—124.

[2] Ru. i. 64. Gerd. i. 124.

diverting their dues into an unfair channel. The bishop therefore, availing himself of the disrespect which Samson had shewn him, issued an inhibition to all his clergy against receiving the intruder. Having also been informed of the zeal with which the chief pastor of Zuric had opposed the indulgences ever since they were brought into the country, he directed his vicar general, Faber, to write to him in his name, in terms expressive of kindness and esteem, exhorting him "resolutely to prosecute what he had auspiciously begun, and promising him his support in so doing." Faber also himself spoke of Samson and his indulgences in the strongest terms of reprobation, as suited only to make the church odious and contemptible.

A. D. 1519.

Who encourages Zwingle.

Hence, when Samson presented himself at Bremgarten, his next stage, and only four leagues from Zuric, Henry Bullinger, rural dean of the place, and father of the illustrious reformer of the same name, though not yet himself emancipated from popish errors, refused to receive him, protesting that he would rather lose his life than suffer him to enter his church. Samson in great wrath, by virtue of the powers entrusted to him, pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication, and proceeded immediately to carry his complaints to Zuric, where the general diet of the Swiss cantons was at that time assembled. But he found nothing to console him there. The bishop of Constance had sent deputies to represent his conduct to the diet: Bullinger, who set his excommunication at naught, appeared to answer his charges, or rather to lodge complaints against him: the council of Zuric forbad him to

Samson repelled from Bremgarten.

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enter their city: and when, on his urging that he had business to bring before the diet on behalf of his master, the pope, he was suffered to appear, even the warmest partizans of the papacy were ashamed of him, and could attempt to save the honour of the sovereign pontiff only by abandoning his emissary, as having exceeded his commission. All that he could obtain from the diet was permission to retire unmolested, on condition of his revoking the excommunication of Bullinger: and this was followed by a formal application, on the part of the diet, to the pope to recall him; which was accompanied by a representation from the council of Zuric of his disgraceful conduct, as a justification of their own proceedings with respect to him. Though his Holiness replied but very coldly, and maintained that he only exercised his undoubted rights in publishing the indulgence, which "ought to be received with implicit confidence, according to the decisions of the church, and on pain of excommunication;" yet he added, that, if Samson had exceeded his commission in the manner described, he would punish him for his misconduct. Accordingly the wretched man, though he returned into Italy, did not venture to present himself at Rome—fearing probably, that, having now served the pope's turn, he might, by a policy well known to the Romish hierarchy, be sacrificed to appease the odium which the whole proceeding had excited. Leo was the third pope under whom Samson had been employed in these iniquitous exactions: and he is said to have sent into Italy chests of gold and silver plate out of Germany and Switzerland, and to have boasted that he had collected, by the sale

Put down by the Cantons.

Returns into Italy.

of indulgences, not less than eight hundred thousand crowns.[1] A. D. 1520.

What was the result of any encouragement given to the reformation by the bishop of Constance has already been intimated: but the reader may wish to know how he extricated himself after being so far committed with Zwingle, and having his views so essentially promoted by him. The following information is from the reformer's own pen. "I failed not, with all reverence and humility, publicly and privately, by written addresses to urge him to countenance the light of the gospel, which he now saw bursting forth so that no human counsels could suppress it: ..... But, from causes which I pretend not to assign, a change had taken place; and they, who had lately excited me by their reiterated exhortations, now deigned me no answer beyond mere public and official communications, which bore no more resemblance to those that had preceded them, than a mite does to an elephant."[2] Conduct of the Bishop of Constance.

It was about this period, in the year 1520, that Zwingle renounced the pension which he had hitherto received from the pope, as a chaplain of the holy see. He himself thus notices the subject in an epistle, in which he two years afterwards inscribed a publication to his five brothers. "I acknowledge myself," he says, "prone to many sins: but, if any of my adversaries charge me with avarice or bad faith, and with teaching false doctrines under the influence of bribes, do not believe them, though they assert it on oath: for there is no person to whom I am under any engagement for favours conferred on me. I do not Zwingle renounces his pension from the pope.

[1] Ruchat, i. 40, 63—66. Gerdes, i. 122, 124—127, 261-2. [2] Zuing. Op. i. 230.

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deny that formerly I received certain pensions from the pope: but these I have done with for some time past. I then thought it lawful and right to accept the pope's bounty, while it appeared to me a pious and holy thing to support his religion with all my powers. But, when my *knowledge of sin* (as S. Paul speaks,) increased, I soon bade a long farewell to the Roman pontiff and his gifts."[1] Like Luther, he had been conscientious in his attachment to the see of Rome; and, even after he became sensible of the great corruptions which prevailed, it required time and further experience to convince him that it would be necessary to separate from the corrupt church altogether. It may be observed also that Luther's condemnation by the court of Rome, and Zwingle's renouncing his pension from the pope, occurred about the same time. The bull condemning Luther's writings was dated 15 June, 1520: he publicly burned it on the 10th of December—some time having probably elapsed between its date and its publication: and a further bull of excommunication was issued against him on the 6th of January, 1521. Zwingle on the 24th of July had written to Myconius, expressing his hope that an excommunication would not be issued against Luther, and his intention to use his influence with the pope's commissary to prevent it: but he says, "If it is issued, I anticipate that the pope and his excommunication will be alike despised by the Germans."[2]

Notice of other Swiss Reformers.

While such was the course of proceedings in the successive scenes of Zwingle's labours

[1] Zuing. Op. i. 341 (b). Ru. i. 75. Gerd. i. 265.
[2] Œc. et Z. Epist. 173 (b).

in the three cantons of Glaris, Schweitz, and Zuric, the work of reformation was hopefully commencing in other parts of the Helvetic republic. Basle was the seat of a constellation of great men, who afterwards became distinguished as the restorers of the church. Leo Jude, Pellican, Capito, Œcolampadius, and Hedio were all collected in that city. Vadian was found at S. Gallen, Myconius at Lucerne, Haller at Berne, the two Blaurers and Hoffmeister at Constance. A short notice of each of these persons, with all of whom we shall have to form an acquaintance as we proceed, may be advantageously introduced in this place. A. D. 1520.

Leo Jude is mentioned as a person of diminutive stature, but of an heroic mind:[1] and it was said of him, that whatever constitutes a good man was not only found, but abounded in him. He was of a family of rank in Alsace: was born in the year 1482, and received his education at Schlestadt. In 1505 he removed to Basle, and placed himself under Wyttenbach. Here he commenced a friendship with Zwingle, his fellow-pupil, which continued uninterrupted till the death of the latter. He was first called to a pastoral charge in his own province; but soon returned to Basle for the more advantageous prosecution of his studies, and there received an appointment as a preacher in the church of S. Theodore. He removed thence to succeed Zwingle at Einsidlin in 1518; and remained at that place till 1523, when Zwingle prevailed on him to join him in his labours at Zuric, and to accept the charge of S. Peter's church. While at Einsidlin, besides a diligent Leo Jude.

[1] "Teucro minor, sed Ajace fortior." Zuing.

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application to general learning, and earnest preaching of the gospel, he studied the writings of Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther; and commenced the translation, which he afterwards finished at Zuric, of Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament into the German language. This was considered as a work of no small importance, at a time when a tolerable exposition of the scriptures was scarcely to be found in the vernacular language of any country. He was eminently skilled in Hebrew, and applied his knowledge, as we shall afterwards see, to the production of valuable translations of the sacred writings into the German and Latin languages.[1]

Pellican.

Conrad Kirsner, or Pellican, celebrated for his acquaintance with Hebrew and other oriental literature, which he acquired with immense labour, amid all the disadvantages of the times, and consecrated to the illustration of the scriptures, was also a native of Alsace—born at Rüffach in the year 1478. Much against the wishes of his uncle Justus Gallus, who had been a scholar of Wesselus of Gainsfort,[2] he entered upon the monastic life, in the order of Minorites, at the age of sixteen years. At twenty-four years of age, his superior learning and piety recommended him to the office of a reader and professor of theology in his order, at Basle. Two years afterwards cardinal Raymond, coming as legate to Basle, was so much struck with him as to cause the degree of doctor in divinity to be conferred on him by a bull from the pope. Of this honour, however, Pellican's modesty

[1] Gerd. i. 107—109. Melch. Ad. i. 44.
[2] Milner iv. 295—302.

never allowed him to avail himself. The cardinal also prevailed with him to accompany him on his return into Italy—destining him to higher honours at Rome. But illness arrested his progress at Milan, and obliged him to return to Basle, to the joy of the best part of the society there, and in particular of the bishop, Christopher ab Utenheim. For him he drew up a summary of the chief points of Christian doctrine—deduced not from the fashionable divines of the time, but directly from the sacred scriptures. His fame and influence rapidly advanced: but he had now begun to distrust the reigning doctrines of satisfactions, indulgences, purgatory, and the other figments of popery. He had had in his youth a pious and learned tutor, Paulus Scriptoris, the guardian of his college, or convent: and Gerdes very properly calls us to observe "the admirable providence and mercy of God in effecting the salvation of his people—for *whom he chose them he also called.*" This person, he proceeds, "God had employed as his instrument to prepare Pellican for higher services. He had frequently observed to his scholar, that the time of reformation was certainly at hand, when the thorny and unprofitable theology of the schools would be abandoned, the ancient doctors of the church listened to, and those of the Sorbonne fall into deserved neglect."—Thus was Pellican gradually prepared to renounce his monastic hood, and his prospects of advancement—though he had now been introduced to Leo X, and made head of the convent of his order, first at Rüffach, and afterwards at Basle; and to prefer the knowledge and dissemination of divine truth to the honours and emoluments of the world.

A. D. 1520.

Paulus Scriptoris.

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Some of the writings of Luther began at this time to be spread abroad; and at Mulhausen, on his way from Rüffach to Basle, Pellican had the ninety-five Theses, which that reformer had published against indulgences, put into his hands by the chief magistrate of the place. He was astonished to see such propositions publicly advanced; and observed upon them, that "concerning purgatory, the subject of the first twenty-six articles, he had his doubts of its existence, since he read of no such thing in Augustine, or the fathers who preceded him, or in the holy scriptures: but that with respect to indulgences, confessions, and the pope's supremacy, to which the remaining sixty-nine related, he had no doubt, but believed the articles to be certainly true: but that Luther must explain himself more clearly upon them—which he hoped he would do if he lived."[1] Pellican taught for some time at Basle, and in 1526 removed to Zuric, where he continued till his death in 1556.

Capito.

Alsace had likewise the honour of giving birth to Wolfgang Fabricius Kœfflin, or Capito. He was born in 1478 at Haguenau, where his father was a member of the senate. His mother was of noble family. His own choice from early life would have led him to the church: but, in compliance with his father's wishes, who disliked the character of the clergy and of the theology of the times, he applied himself to medicine, for his skill in which he acquired some celebrity. Indeed he successively proceeded to the degree of doctor in each of the three faculties of physic, divinity,

[1] Gerd. i. 109—115. Melch. Ad. i. 126, &c.

and canon law; having after his father's death reverted to his original choice of the clerical profession. For some time he was professor of philosophy and school learning at Friburg in Brisgau: but he became disgusted with the false science which passed under those names. In 1510 he was invited to Bruchsal by the bishop of Spire, and discharged there the office of preacher for three years. In his excursions from that place to Heidelberg, on commissions given him by the bishop, he formed a friendship with Œcolampadius, then resident in that town, which was uninterrupted only by the death of the latter. In 1513, on the solicitation of the senate of Basle, he accepted the office of minister of the cathedral church of their city. Erasmus, noticing his appointment, speaks of him as "a profound theologian, a man eminently skilled in the three learned languages, and of the utmost piety and sanctity." When settled at Basle, he lost no time in persuading his friend Œcolampadius to join him there, and thus conferred upon that city one of the greatest blessings it had ever received. These two great men, thus united, sowed the first seeds of evangelical truth and reformation, which afterwards produced so rich a harvest in the place. Leo X. had formed so high an opinion of Capito, that he, unsolicited, conferred on him "a provostship, or deanery," probably that of the cathedral of Basle; but Capito soon resigned it again, feeling "a rich dignity and the duties of a parish minister" to be ill assorted together: and the latter were in his esteem decidedly to be preferred to the former. His eyes were now more and more opening to the discovery of the truth: the mass became

A. D. 1520.

1514.

1517.

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offensive to his conscience, and he refused any more to celebrate it. At this time his acquaintance with Zwingle commenced. Now also he prefixed to the work of a friend, on the state of the church, an epistle dedicatory to the bishop of Basle, in which he urged the necessity of undertaking, and vigorously prosecuting, without at all despairing of success, a reformation of the church. The year 1520 removed him to a new and very different scene. He accepted, and, both from his preceding and his subsequent conduct, we are bound to believe from the purest motives, the appointments of ecclesiastical counsellor and chancellor to the archbishop of Mentz, the first prince of the German Empire, and was himself raised to the rank of a noble by the emperor Charles V. But he found that his situation did not enable him to accomplish the good which he had expected: and he in consequence, after three years trial, resigned it, with all the high prospects which it might have opened to him, and went to join Bucer as a humble preacher of the gospel at Strasburg, where he undertook the charge of S. Thomas's church, and continued there till his death in 1541. He was a man of the most gentle manners, and was devoted to learning; but in subservience to usefulness, not at the expence of it. He was one of those who, in the earlier part of his course, exhorted Luther to more moderate measures than he, happily, consented to adopt. But in after life he perpetually urged Erasmus, who would never speak out,[1] "to throw off the cloke of Nicodemus."[2]

The following account is preserved of an

[1] "Mussitanti."

[2] Gerd. i. 115—118. Melch. Ad. i. 41—43. Ru. i. 12, 75.

interview which took place between Capito and Pellican, in a visit which the latter paid to the former at Bruchsal in the year 1512. Capito took his friend aside, and solemnly conjured him to tell him his real sentiments on the subject of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Pellican, thus pressed, replied: "This is a subject which has long and much exercised my mind, as I perceive it does your's: but, by the grace of God, I have pretty well satisfied myself respecting it. To conceal nothing from you, I must tell you, therefore, that I give no credit to the figment of transubstantiation, which is now universally received in the church; for it does not at all agree with the first institution of this sacrament, and is directly opposed to sound theology. Christ, when he instituted the supper, was sitting at the table before his disciples, and, in distributing to each of them his portion, he took nothing from his own body or blood: they remained undiminished and unchanged. But it will be said, These things are to be judged of, not by the bodily eyes, but by the spirit and faith. Be it so. *He*, however, *that is spiritual judgeth all things*; and faith does not indiscriminately receive every absurdity, but only such things as, though they may be apparently contrary to reason, yet agree with the word of God, rightly interpreted." He then proceeded to discuss some passages of the fathers; to shew the inconceivable absurdity of supposing Christ to have held his own person in his own hands, and to have distributed it to his disciples; and that it was a vain subterfuge to talk of its being a glorified or spiritual body. He then added: "On revolving these things in my mind I bade farewell to scholastic

A. D. 1520.

Pellican and Capito on the eucharist.

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sophisms, and turned to that theology which is contained in the sacred scriptures, and is countenanced by the purer ages of the church. I do not, however, on this account think lightly of this sacrament: for I conclude that the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacrament, not carnally, really, or, as they speak, corporally, but sacramentally, that is, they are exhibited *to believers* after the accustomed manner of sacraments. And thus," he concluded, " you have my opinion, extorted from me by your importunity." Capito was wonderfully delighted with this discourse, as his looks, no less than his words, testified. " You have filled me with joy," he said to Pellican, " by letting me see that I have you for my associate and supporter in an opinion, of the truth of which I have been for some time convinced, but which I have thought should be kept back for the present, till there might be more hope of its being successfully promulgated."[1]

Thus it appears that, long before any such doctrine was taught by the other reformers of the sixteenth century, these two great men had attained to views, in the main just, concerning a subject on which the world had been for ages, and continued still to be, lamentably bewildered. It might, however, have been still more satisfactory, had Pellican's arguments turned more on the palpable non-necessity and unreasonableness of such a mode of interpreting the words of scripture, as that on which transubstantiation is founded, rather than resting so much on the apparent absurdity of the doctrine.[2]

[1] Gerd. i. 112—114. [2] See Milner, v. 532. (1133-4.)

A. D. 1529.

Œcolampadius.

The early part of the life of John Hauschein, or Œcolampadius, was subject to several remarkable changes. He was born, in the year 1482, at Winsperg, in Franconia, but of a respectable family which had come from Basle. His father originally destined him to business: but his mother, a woman celebrated for her sanctity of life, her beneficence, and her talents, who watched over him with all the anxiety that Augustine's mother had manifested for her son, prevailed with her husband to give him a learned education. He was sent to Heidelberg, and thence to Bologna, to study for the legal profession: but he soon quitted the latter place, returned to Heidelberg, and devoted himself to the study of divinity. From early life his proficiency in learning had been distinguished; and, joined to his amiable and excellent character, it recommended him to the notice of Philip, elector Palatine, who appointed him tutor of his sons. But the life of a courtier did not suit Œcolampadius, and in a few years he quitted that situation, and proposed to return to Heidelberg. But his parents, having now no other child, and seeing him devoted to the church, invested as much of their property as they could spare, in founding an ecclesiastical appointment which their son might hold at his native town of Winsperg. This post, however, he for the present retained only six weeks! his too sensitive mind and tender conscience persuading him that he was not qualified for such a charge. He visited Tubingen, and then Stutgard, to avail himself, in the latter place, of the assistance of the learned Reuchlin, in his Hebrew studies. He then returned to Heidelberg; and after some time ventured to resume his situation at

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Winsperg, and thus "preached Christ to his countrymen," says his friend Capito, "about the year 1514." In that or the following year, however, Capito, who was now stationed at Basle, persuaded the bishop to invite Œcolampadius thither also. At Basle, besides his labours as a minister, he rendered important service to Erasmus (as that learned man acknowledges in the preface to his work,) in editing the first edition that ever was printed
1516. of the Greek New Testament; the publication of which materially contributed to advance the
1518. reformation. From Basle Œcolampadius was ere long called by the canons of Augsburg, to discharge the office of a preacher in that city. But here again his timidity and scrupulosity of mind pursued him, and induced him to resign his situation, as thinking himself quite unequal to contend with the prevailing corruption of manners, and boldly to proclaim the truth to those who felt galled and irritated by it. "I confess," he afterwards writes to a friend, "that I was weak and timid. I ought to have trusted in God, who had called me, and not to have despaired of his giving me *a mouth and wisdom*." These traces of fickleness and weakness, in the earlier history of this great man, may teach us the more to admire the power of divine grace, which made him, in after life, so steady, determined, and every way valuable a character. On his retiring from Augsburg, the step he took was much to be regretted, and was strongly deprecated by his
1519. friends. He threw himself into a monastery—proposing to spend his future days in retirement and study. He had the precaution, however, to stipulate with the society into which he entered for the liberty of his faith,

and of pursuing his studies according to his own pleasure; and also, it would seem, for that of quitting the convent to exercise his ministry, if he should see his way clear to do it: "for," said he, with the conscientiousness which marked his character, "if I should bind myself by five hundred oaths, I should not be able to keep them, if at any future time I should think myself qualified to be useful as a minister." And all this liberty the Bridgettine monks in the neighbourhood of Augsburg readily promised him, anxious to gain one who would do so much credit to their order. His friends, and particularly Capito, spared no pains to draw him from this retreat: and, in the course of God's providence, he was even *driven* into compliance with their wishes: for, as he scrupled not to express his sentiments on the controversies which then began to excite universal attention, and on the prevailing errors and abuses of the church, he found that, notwithstanding all his stipulations on entering the place, he was exposed to no small danger from his associates in the monastery, and from other devoted papists, who began even to form plots against his life. Glapio, in particular, the confessor of the emperor Charles V, at the period of the diet of Worms, himself manifested, and excited in others, determined hostility against him. He in consequence quitted his monastery, and betook himself to the castle of the celebrated Francis Sickengen,[1] then the resort of so many learned men; and after Sickengen's death, which soon followed, returned to Basle, where he spent the remainder of his days, and where we shall see him becoming "the

A. D. 1520. — 1521. — 1522.

[1] Milner, v. 245, 570. (832. (10).)

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reformer of that city, and, in conjunction with Zwingle, of Switzerland at large."—Grynæus speaks of him as being esteemed, "for skill in the learned languages, for sound theological erudition, and for exact acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity, the first man of the age in which he lived." [1]

Hedio.

Caspar Hedio was a native of the Marquisate of Baden, in Suabia, who laboured long and succesfully, first at Mentz and then at Strasburg. He studied, and took his doctor's degree, at Basle; and, according to Ruchat, when Capito removed from that city to Mentz, Hedio succeeded him, and preached to the citizens of Basle with indefatigible zeal. This forms his only immediate connexion with Switzerland.[2]

Vadian.

Joachim von Walt, or Vadian, was a distinguished layman, a native of S. Gallen, where he was eight times raised to the consulate, or office of burgomaster. Bullinger styles him "the honour of their common country." He was intimately acquainted with almost every kind of learning; and, having also great talents for business, was employed on various occasions of high importance to the Helvetic body at large. He had studied at Vienna, where he took the degree of doctor of medicine, held a professorship, and rose to the honour of rector of the university. He was also made poet laureat and public orator by the emperor Maximilian, in whose presence, and in that of several crowned heads who met at Vienna in the year 1515, he harangued with great applause. He

[1] S. Grynæus de obitu Œcol., and Capito de vit. Œcol., prefixed to Œcol. et Zuing. Epist.—Melch. Ad. i. 21—23. Gerd. i. 118—121. Ruchat, i. 13, 14.

[2] M. Ad. i. 116. Ru. i. 75.

likewise applied himself to the study of the law. He quitted Vienna, and returned to his own country in the year 1518, and there for some time practised medicine. He zealously, steadily, and with great wisdom and effect promoted the cause of the reformation, presiding at more than one of the great public disputations by which its success was so materially advanced in Switzerland. The subject of religion lay near his heart, so that he studied it minutely, and wrote several treatises on the questions which then so much engrossed the public mind. He even once delivered expository lectures on the Acts of the Apostles to a select audience at S. Gallen, the minutes of which, having been taken down by some of his hearers, and communicated to Bullinger, are highly commended by him. "Had Vadian," he says in the prefatory address of his own commentary on the Acts, "committed his lectures to writing, and published them, they would have rendered my exposition unnecessary." Vadian's life, we are told, was closed in a very pious and edifying manner.—His valuable library he bequeathed to the public, under the guardianship of the senate of S. Gallen.[1] A. D. 1520.

Oswald Geisheuser, or Myconius, (who is to be distinguished from Frederic Myconius, the friend and fellow labourer of Luther,[2]) was a native of Lucerne, born in 1488. He studied at Basle, where he was noticed and assisted by Erasmus and Glareanus. He presided over the public school, first at Basle, and then at Zuric—where we have seen that he was a principal means of introducing Zwingle. He Oswald Myconius.

[1] M. Adam, iv. 24—28 (inter Medicos). Ru. i. 60—62. Gerd. i. 260. ii. 239, 246, 325, 326.

[2] Vol. i. 255-6, 335, 484. Milner, v. 567. (App. 6.)

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was thence called to take the charge of the school in his native town of Lucerne. Here he laboured to disseminate religious truth, and to promote reformation; and was supported by John Xylotectus, or Zimmerman, and Justus Kilchmeyer, canons of Lucerne. The former of these persons was a man of noble rank, and a canon of Berne, as well as of Lucerne. He was a man of so high a character, as to be styled "the singular honour of his country and of the religion he professed." The bigotry of his countrymen, however, banished him, and he died at Basle, of the plague, in the year 1526.[1] Many admitted that what Myconius contended for was Christian and right, but they urged that Zwingle and Myconius had not sufficient influence to restore religion, and replace it upon a right footing, and had therefore better not make the attempt. Indeed, the opposition which he encountered was violent, and in the end overpowering. He wrote to a friend, December 1, 1520, "I live among savage wolves; but I have one comfort, that they most of them want teeth. They would bite if they could, but, as they cannot do that, they bark." And again: "The cry here is that Luther ought to be burned and the schoolmaster" (meaning himself,) "with him." And sometime after to Zwingle: "A few days ago I was called before the council, and forbidden either to read or speak of Luther, or even to think of him. And indeed I never did introduce him into the school; nor have I been accustomed to speak of him, or even so to think of him as to wish to instill any thing from

(Zimmerman.)

[1] J. H. Hottinger, vi. 356. Gerd. ii. 231.

him. What need has any one to do that, who has the gospel, and S. Paul, and the other writers of the New Testament to draw from?" In the year 1522, or 1523, however, he was expelled from Lucerne, and retired to Einsidlin; from whence he was soon after recalled to Zuric, and continued there till after the death of Zwingle, in 1531. He was then called to the charge of a church at Basle, and soon after became the successor of Œcolampadius, both in his professorship and his pulpit; and continued in that situation till his death in 1552. His services to the reformation were great and valuable. A. D. 1520. 1532.

It may be interesting to the reader to peruse the advice given to him by Zwingle, while he was struggling to maintain his ground at Lucerne. It savours of the commanding, yet Christian mind of its author. "Go before the senate, and make an address to them worthy of yourself and of him whose religion you profess; suited to touch their consciences, but not to irritate their feelings, and without the least personal allusion to any individual. Deny that you are a Lutheran, but affirm that you are a Christian. Assert your fidelity as a teacher: and appeal, not to your being a native of Switzerland, or of Lucerne, but to the fact that you were never found otherwise than faithful. Appeal also to the affection of your scholars—who may accompany you voluntarily, and may intreat the senate not to deprive them of the director of their studies. Take with you as goodly a company of them as you can: select some one who is competent to do the thing handsomely, and let him boldly but briefly speak for the rest—setting forth the services they may hope one day to render their Zwingle's advice to him.

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country, if they are suffered to prosecute their studies under such a master; but what a discouragement it will be to their exertions to be deprived of you..... If possible you must not give up Lucerne. Bear up: if you know not how to do it, the act of bearing up will teach you. But you *do* know how: and I am persuaded that by your example you will teach others." [1]

Haller.

Berthold Haller, the reformer of Berne, was born at Aldingen, about the year 1492. He studied first at Pfortzheim, under Simler, where he had Melancthon for his associate, and then at Cologne. He was appointed to a canonry and preachership in the cathedral of Berne, in the year 1520. He was a man of much eloquence, and his powers as a preacher, added to the excellence of his character, gained him great influence with the citizens. His disposition was naturally timid: but he was fortified by constant intercourse with Zwingle. He had also for the associate

Seb. Meyer.

of his principles and labours, Sebastian Meyer, a Fransciscan, who had formerly been a preacher at Strasburg, and a zealous papist, but was now a reader in divinity among his own order at Berne. By the united efforts of these two persons the Bernese, who had been hostile to the reformation, and incensed at Zuric for the countenance which it gave to the new doctrine, were gradually conciliated, and themselves prepared to admit it.—Meyer also by a Retractation which

1524.

he wrote from Berne, exposing his own former

[1] M. Adam, i. 108. Ru. i. 56, 72, 110. Gerd. ii. 231—236. J. H. Hottinger, vi. 332—356; where several interesting specimens of Myconius's correspondence with Zwingle are preserved.

errors, rendered important service to the reformed at Strasburg.[1] A. D. 1520.

Blaurer.

Thomas and Andrew Blaurer were of a noble family at Constance, and both laboured early in the cause of reformation. The latter, in particular, is distinguished as the reformer of his native city. He was born in 1492. Inflamed by an early religious zeal, he entered a monastery at Alberspach, in the dutchy of Würtemberg: but by reading Luther's books his views were changed; and, after several contests with his superiors and associates, he quitted his convent, and returned to Constance, 1523. and there taught the doctrines which he had learned, to the great annoyance of the canons. With some little interruption he continued his labours at Constance till the Interim, forced upon the city in the year 1548, drove him away; when he retired to Bienne. He lived till the year 1568.

Hoffmeister

Sebastian Hoffmeister, originally called Wagner, a native of Schaffhausen, (born in 1476,) was also a labourer at Constance, even at an earlier period than Blaurer. He had previously been a reader in divinity at Zuric, where he cultivated the friendship of Zwingle. He removed to his native town, and subsequently to Berne, and thence to Zoffingen.

Vanner.

John Vannius, Vanner, or Wanner, also at an early period maintained the doctrines of the reformation at Constance, and suffered for so doing: "But," he heroically writes to Zwingle, "these things move me not: I would rather be a Christian, exposed to the hatred of mul-

[1] Mel. Adam, i. 28. Ru. i. 73, 107. Gerd. ii. 236-7. Scultet. 49, 68.

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titudes, than desert Christ for the friendship of the world." [1]

Trachsel.

To these worthies we may add Balthasar Trachsel, minister of Art, in the canton of Schweitz. He was the first ecclesiastic in Switzerland, at the period of the reformation, who ventured to marry: but in so doing he outran the course of public sentiment, and was in consequence driven from his station. He afterwards, however, laboured usefully in other situations.[2]

Reflections. 1. The number of eminent men.

In casting our eye over this list of names, most of them of high renown, all of them of "good report" in the church of Christ, we feel loudly called upon, as in surveying the German reformation, to adore the good providence and powerful grace of Almighty God, who at this period deigned to look down upon and visit his languishing and almost expiring church, and to raise up even a host of champions, "valiant for the truth," to assail the reigning corruptions, to restore the lost light of the gospel, to illustrate their profession by a holy and devoted life; and thus to effect a great and blessed "deliverance in the earth." "The Lord gave the word, and great was the company of them that published it;" and glorious the success of their labours. With him also is still "the residue of the Spirit:" and we trust that he is again in some more copious measure pouring it upon his church. It is easy to him to call forth men—"men of God"—"by whom Jacob shall arise," and his church, even in its most decayed parts—not only in the ancient scenes of the reformation, but even in places

[1] M. Ad. in Blaur. i. 197-8. Gerd. ii. 239, 249, 260-1. Ru. i. 76, 114, 153. ii. 241.

[2] Ru. i. 74. ii. 397.

which the reformation never reached, or where it was almost instantly extinguished again—be revived, and restored to primitive purity and beauty. "Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence, give him no rest, until he establish, and till he make" his church "a praise in the earth." A. D. 1520.

2. Their learning.

One thing with which we cannot fail to be struck, in these heroes of the reformation, is the high character which most of them possessed for talent and learning. A great proportion of them had flattering prospects opening before them, on account of their celebrity of this kind—all which they willingly sacrificed, and "counted loss for Christ." But we see that their acquirements all told, with the most powerful effect, for the great work which God had excited them to undertake. They gave a weight to their character, and an authority to their decisions, which could not otherwise have been attained: they enabled them to bring the scriptures to light, to render them, by translation, accessible to the people, and to restore the true interpretation of them; to beat down their enemies in argument, and to refute them in their favourite appeal to antiquity; in short, to recover the ancient faith of the church of Christ, uncorrupted by novelties and extravagances, whether their own or those of other teachers. Without their high literary attainments, humanly speaking, they could never have been qualified for the work which they performed. Let sound learning never be undervalued. Let it never be surmised, that it is not conducive to the service of God. The pride of learning, and the abuse of learning, are fatal evils; and without the possession of it, no doubt, the man

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of devoted piety, with merely the vernacular scriptures in his hand, may be even eminently useful; but there are higher and more extensive spheres of service which he is clearly not qualified to occupy. Learning, when employed not for ostentation, but for use; not to set up human wisdom in opposition to divine revelation; but humbly, patiently, and laboriously to trace out, to exhibit, to assert, and to defend the revealed truth of God, and to apply it to all the varied purposes for which it was made known; is of the highest value. And let every younger student remember, that he knows not to what scene of service he is destined: let it be his humble aim, depending upon and seeking the divine blessing, to become as well qualified as possible for that station, be it what it may, to which it shall please God to call him. And, in this view, let him duly consider the diligent study, the indefatigable labour, and the patient zeal of these great and good men—who, devoted to learning as they ever were, yet did not pursue it for its own sake, or lose themselves in a contemplative life, but denied themselves, and studied, and prayed without ceasing, in order that they might *act* with wisdom and success, to the glory of God, and the highest good of their fellow men. Therefore their memory is blessed.

3. Their union.

Finally, it is delightful to observe the cordial union which subsisted among these good men. This has been noticed as a peculiarly gratifying feature of the Swiss reformation. These eminent persons were all firm and faithful friends even unto death; and not a discordant note is heard among them. They acted in unison, and were ever ready to counsel, to

admonish, to encourage, and to help one another. "A good and pleasant thing it is for brethren" thus "to dwell together in unity." It makes the church secure as "a city that is at concord within itself," and fitted "as an army with banners" to subdue the world, by spiritual weapons, to "the obedience of faith." Happy had it been if the same cordiality had subsisted between the two great branches of the reformation, as between the several members of this, and indeed we might say of either branch, separately considered, among themselves. A. D. 1520.

CHAPTER XV

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION AT ZURIC AND IN THE OTHER CANTONS, TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1522.

CHAP. XV.

Mercenary warfare, and foreign pensions.

THE Swiss, since the time they shook off the Austrian yoke, and formed their general confederation, have scarcely been engaged, as principals, in war with any foreign power; but, as furnishing troops to other belligerents, they have borne a part in a great proportion of the wars of Europe. Their plan has been, with the exception, since the reformation, of the protestant cantons, to accept pensions[1] from various foreign states, and in consideration of them, when called upon, to furnish those states with certain contingents of troops. Besides this, individuals have been allowed to receive similar payments, for enlisting soldiers in their country to recruit the armies of their pay-masters.[2] The consequence of this last regulation has been, that numerous volunteers of the same country have been seen marching against one another in opposite armies.[3] The acceptance of these pensions is a lamentable derogation from the boasted independence

[1] Which have acquired the name of *les argents de paix et d' alliance.*

[2] Beausobre, i. 252. Planta, Helv. Confed. ii. 43.

[3] Robertson's Charles V. ii. 189.

of the Swiss: and, though various political considerations are urged to shew the expediency of the plan,[1] the morality of it seems but too well summed up in the description, "engaging for money to cut the throats of men with whom they had no quarrel,"[2] personal or public. Against this crying evil, the national sin of his country, as he and other good men esteemed it, and one which was productive of the worst moral effects among the people, Zwingle had long before lifted up his voice.[3] But the circumstances of the times now enabled him to make a more solemn and effective protest against it. In other ways also, besides exhibiting Zwingle as a patriot no less than a Christian, this subject connects itself with the history of the reformation.

A. D. 1520.

Protests of Zwingle against them.

In the year 1520, the pope's nuncio, Pucci, made a communication to the cantons assembled at Glaris, desiring that they would not enter into engagements with any one relative to the Turkish war, as the Pope might have occasion for the services of their troops.[4] The cantons, in reply, took the opportunity to complain, not only of the ill payment of the pope's pensions, but also that their country was overrun with his retainers, ready to seize upon every vacant benefice by virtue of bulls and provisoes from him,[5] and that livings were even

Jan. 9.

Strong measure of the cantons against the pope's nomination to benefices.

1 Coxe, Let. 21.

2 "Docens, non esse jus aut fas homini, ut se mercede conduci patiatur ad fundendum sanguinem miserorum, et plerumque innocentum hominum, a quibus nulla ipse unquam injuriâ affectus sit." Simler de vit. H. Bullingeri, 24.

3 While at Glaris, Beausobre, i. 252. Above, p. 343.

4 Ruchat, i. 77.

5 "Bands of foreign priests, furnished with bulls from the pope, continually prowled about in search of vacant benefices;

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given to soldiers of his guard, who set them to sale.[1] They added also that priests committed to prison for murder were absolved by the bishops, and reëstablished in their benefices. They demanded the correction of such flagrant disorders: and, when the nuncio gave them nothing but evasive, or at the best fair words in reply, they resolved to take the remedy into their own hands, and banished the whole company of strolling hirelings out of the country as rogues and vagabonds,[2] destitute of the Spirit of God: and even unanimously declared their determination to put into a sack, and throw into the next river, any person who should for the future attempt to renew the sacrilegious traffic which had been carried on. Such a proceeding shewed both the spirit of the people, the indignant sense entertained of the length to which abuses were carried, and how much the pope's authority was on the wane in the country.

The Pope's demands.

In the month of October following, the pope sent Pucci again into Switzerland, to demand two things of the cantons: 1. That they should engage to defend the church by force of arms, where it might be necessary: 2. That they should extirpate the doctrine of Luther from among them, and burn his books. The writings of Luther had for two years past been widely circulated in Switzerland and the neighbouring countries; the celebrated printer,

Circulation of Luther's books.

and, as they were ignorant of the language of the country, could do nothing but say mass in Latin." M'Crie's Ref. in Italy, p. 312.

[1] Nay, Zwingle indignantly says, at the first Disputation at Zuric, "to stable-boys and mule-keepers." Op. ii. 614 (b).

[2] *Méchans coquins*, &c.

John Froben of Basle, the friend of Erasmus, having, by the recommendation of Beatus Rhenanus, reprinted them, and not only sold them in Switzerland, but exported them in large numbers into France, Spain, and Italy.[1] A. D. 1520.

The first of the pope's demands the cantons for the present rejected, apprehending that he designed to employ their troops against the king of France. On the subject of the second, there were differences of opinion; some being willing to attempt the extinction of the reformed doctrine, others thinking it unreasonable forcibly to suppress that which had never been fairly examined. And, on the whole, the effect of the demand, and of the discussion which took place upon it, was only to fan the spark which had been kindling, and raise it to a flame.

Zurie rejects foreign pensions. 1521.

The next year the king of France proposed to the cantons, assembled in diet at Lucerne, a special treaty of alliance, and that they should assist him in the war in which he was likely to be engaged with the emperor and the pope. The other cantons, gained by his promises, agreed to his proposals: but Zuric, influenced by the spirited remonstrances of Zwingle against all such engagements, and against foreign pensions generally, refused its concurrence, and even exacted an oath from the citizens that they would accept no largesses from any foreign power.[2] This dissent of Zuric from the general vote of the cantons, and

[1] Ruchat, i. 58–60. M'Crie's Italy, p. 31, &c. Froben is said afterwards to have discontinued the printing of Luther's works, by the persuasion of Erasmus—much to the advantage of another printer of Basle, Adam Petri, who republished most of them as they appeared, frequently with notes by Pellican, and had an extensive sale for them. Melch. Ad. i. 139.

[2] Hess, from Bullinger and Stetler.

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implied condemnation of their conduct, with certain consequences which followed, produced, in some of the other states, a deep-seated and lasting resentment against that canton, which, as Bullinger, and after him J. J. Hottinger thinks, laid the foundation of much of that animosity which was subsequently manifested by some of the cantons against the reformation itself. It excited also much secret disaffection in the minds of many of the citizens of Zuric, who felt that a fruitful source of their private gains was cut off. The pope at the same time demanded of the cantons the troops which they were engaged by treaty to furnish to him; but he was obliged to stipulate that they should be employed neither against the emperor nor the king of France; so that they merely marched into Italy and marched back again. Some months after, the war with France being on the point of breaking out, the pope repeated his demand; but was refused: on which he issued an excommunication against the king of France and all his adherents—including the twelve cantons which had entered into alliance with that prince. But so little regard was paid to his spiritual thunders, that the magistrates caused the bull of excommunication to be torn down wherever it was posted.

Through the address, however, of Schinner, the cardinal of Sion, troops were still raised for the pope in Switzerland, and even Zuric and Zug were prevailed upon to furnish him with some companies to be employed solely for the defence of the states of the church. The consequence was, that, in the siege of Milan, Swiss troops were seen marching to attack the city, which was defended, for the French, in great part by their own countrymen; and

Calamities of the Swiss in Italy. 1522.

this led to the loss of that place to the king of France. The Swiss troops in the pay of France soon after suffered a severe defeat from the emperor's army, at Bicocca,[1] and lost three thousand men. The remainder returned home humbled and dispirited to the greatest degree; which produced for the time a disgust for these foreign services, particularly in the canton of Schweitz, on which the loss had chiefly fallen.[2] A.D. 1522.

Zwingle's Exhortation to the Canton of Schweitz.

Zwingle, who was a native of that canton, did not fail to avail himself of this opportunity to promote an object which he thought of the greatest consequence to his country. He immediately addressed to the canton, "a friendly Exhortation to shun the alliance of princes, and the insidious pensions of strangers." A noble spirit of piety and patriotism breathes throughout this composition. He condoles with his countrymen under their calamity, but implores them to consider to what causes it might be traced, and what lessons they ought to learn from it. He complains of the decay of piety, and of the increase of pride and self-confidence. The people had been led to think nothing beyond their power, and were ready to adopt the impious boastings of those who said, "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement: when the overflowing scourge shall pass over, it shall not come unto us."[3] Therefore God contended with them, and brought them down.—He contrasted the wars in which they engaged with those in which their ancestors had contended for liberty, for safety, and almost for existence. Those were

May 14.

[1] Robertson's Charles V. ii. 195.
[2] Ru. i. 76—88, 99—101. Hess, 101—113.
[3] Isa. xxviii. 15.

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no mercenary wars. "They had had no such thirst for foreign gold, as to be willing for the sake of it to shed the blood of men with whom they had no ground of quarrel." The Swiss nation, he is bold to affirm, had lost more men, and suffered more fatal defeats, in the wars of Naples, Navarre, and Milan, in which they really had no interest, than in all other disputes which had arisen since the first establishment of their union.—He then describes the excesses of which their soldiers were guilty in this mercenary warfare, such that if they were practised upon themselves, and were not followed with speedy vengeance, they would be ready to blaspheme the tardy justice of heaven. He descants also on the vices which their troops who returned home imported into their country; on the mischiefs, rather than benefits, which they derived from subsidies paid them, and on other topics; and concludes with earnestly exhorting them to repentance, and works meet for repentance. "If Christ," said he, "warned men to repent from the calamities which had befallen others, how much more should *they* be warned by the calamities which they had themselves suffered, in the persons of so many of their own countrymen and relations. We may well imagine that we hear him proclaim to us, *Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish.* If however they would hear his voice, and turn from their sins, and among them from these foreign alliances and mercenary wars, the promises of God (to say nothing of the situation of their country, fenced in by the Alps and the Rhine,) might give them abundant assurance of security.[1]

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 154—160. One plea for these foreign services is, the keeping up of a military spirit for their own

Happy is it for a country, no less than for an individual, when under its afflictions it has "with it a messenger, an interpreter" of the divine dispensations, to whom it will hearken, so as to be turned from its sins, and directed into the way of righteousness. The frankness and fidelity of Zwingle did not displease the canton of Schweitz: and their chief secretary soon after, though it would seem only in his own name, returned him the most cordial acknowledgments for his address. The result was, the passing of a law abolishing all foreign alliances and pensions—though only for twenty-five years.[1] Lasting effects, however, followed the exertions of Zwingle and his associates in other cantons. Till the year 1777, "none of the protestant states received any pensions from France;" and then only "the protestants of Glaris and Appenzel, and the town of Bienne."[2] A. D. 1521. Success of his opposition to foreign pensions.

During the progress of these events Zwingle received an additional testimony of the esteem in which he was held at Zuric, in his election to a canonry in the cathedral, vacant by the resignation of Henry Engelhardt, a person of eminence, and a favourer of the reformation, who was also pastor of the Abbey Church. Zwingle's appointment was announced to him by a letter from the authorities of the city, bearing an honourable testimony to his character and services. Those more elevated situations, however, whether in the church or in civil life, He is made a Canon of Zuric. 1521. Apr. 27:

security.—In Hess, 114—117, the reader may see a good specimen, sufficiently faithful to the original, of the reformer's soul-stirring eloquence on the subject before us.

[1] J. H. Hottinger, vi. 359. Ru. i. 101.

[2] Coxe, Let. 21.

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His labours and conflicts.

which we are apt to covet, seldom add to the happiness of their possessors: and accordingly Zwingle found this station involve him in new cares, and expose him to new vexations. In a letter to Haller, chiefly treating of some

Dec. 4. cases of conscience, he thus describes the incessant engagements which pressed upon him. "The hurry of business and the care of the churches occupy me to such a degree, that Dr. Engelhardt lately told me, he wondered that I had not before this time become distracted. For instance, I have been ten times called off since I began this letter. From Suabia they write to me for what I am not competent to perform for them; though I do what I can. From every part of Switzerland I am applied to by those who are in difficulties for Christ's sake. If however any thing occurs in which I can be of use to you, do not spare me—for I hope for more leisure. . . . . Put a candid construction on what I write: but do not set down for oracles what I send merely as the offerings of good will. I only suggest what may give an impulse to your own thoughts."[1] One while he even felt himself so much harassed as to entertain thoughts of relinquishing his situation: but, shortly after, his confidence in God revived, and we find him

1522. writing in a noble spirit to his friend Myconius, as one prepared to despise all difficulties and encounter all dangers rather than desert his post. "Such," says he, "are the storms that beat upon the house of God, and threaten to overthrow it, that, unless the Lord himself had evidently appeared to watch over it, I should long since have given it up for lost. But,

[1] Œc. et Z. Epist. 39 (b).

when I see that the vessel of the church is in every case piloted and controlled by him, and that he even commands the winds and the waves, I should be a coward indeed, and unworthy the name of a man, should I disgracefully ruin myself by quitting my station. I therefore commit myself entirely to his care and kindness."[1] A. D. 1522.

These letters make a very satisfactory impression concerning the state of the writer's mind. All his time and all his powers are engrossed in the service of his divine Master: he is ready to assist all his fellow servants, to the best of his ability, but without presuming to dictate to them—he would not have his counsels taken for "oracles." At the same time he experiences the conflicts of the Christian, and obtains the Christian's victory. He has "the sentence of death in himself;" but only "that he may not trust in himself, but in God that raiseth the dead."[2]—His "hope for more leisure" is one which we all indulge, but which the faithful servant of God must scarcely expect to be realized till incapacity lays him aside, or death transmits him to "the rest that remaineth for the people of God." Good state of his mind.

Among the individuals whose intercourse with Zwingle about this time proved of great service to him, was Francis Lambert, a native of Avignon, and a Franciscan of the strictest class, who had been for fifteen years a professor of divinity in his own country. To a certain extent he had become acquainted with the truths of the gospel, and he appears, like Apollos, to have been "an eloquent man," and full of zeal to communicate to others what he Francis Lambert.

[1] J. H. Hott. vi. 235. viii. 270. Gerd. i. 266-7.
[2] 2 Cor. ii. 8—10.

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had learned himself. Having been compelled to quit his home for his religion's sake, he had come into Switzerland, and preached earnestly at Geneva, Lausanne, and other places. He was well received by the bishop of Lausanne, Sebastian de Montfaucon, obtained considerable influence over him, and seemed for the time to have made a very hopeful impression upon his mind. But that prelate, like his brother of Constance, as the reformation proceeded, and incurred odium, drew back, and ranged himself among its opponents. From Lausanne Lambert proceeded to Friburg, and thence to Berne; where Haller gave him letters of introduction to Zwingle, at Zuric. In the German part of Switzerland he could preach only in Latin; which he did with much acceptance to such as were capable of understanding him. But he needed himself to be "taught the way of God more perfectly;" and happily he was open to conviction, and willing to learn. Among the errors which he still retained, was the doctrine of the intercession of the saints; which he accordingly preached at Zuric. Zwingle remonstrated against it, and he in consequence begged to discuss the question more fully with the reformed teachers. He did so, and was convinced of his error: on which, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he blessed God for his further grace thus bestowed on him. Henceforth he laid aside his Franciscan habit. He afterwards went
1523. into Saxony, where the elector, at Luther's instance, assigned him a pension. He soon after married, and removed to Strasburg, and finally into Hesse, where he materially assisted the landgrave in the reformation of his country in the year 1526. By him he was made pro-

fessor of divinity at Marpurg, where he died in the year 1530.[1] A.D. 1522.

Hitherto the Swiss reformers had encountered no public or systematic opposition; but we now begin to find various authorities in church and state combining their efforts to stay their progress. In the year 1522 several citizens of Zuric, acting upon the lessons they had received concerning Christian liberty, and the unscriptural impositions of the Romish church, ventured to neglect the prohibition of meat during lent, without having applied for a dispensation—a liberty which Zwingle himself had never yet taken. Christopher Froschouer, a celebrated printer, the first who introduced a press into Zuric, is mentioned as one of the number. This conduct gave great offence, and some of the clergy commenced a prosecution against these contemners of "the laws of the church," before the magistrates. The bishop of Constance also, having been apprised of what had taken place, despatched a deputation, at the head of which was Faber, who were to address themselves both to the magistrates and to the chapter, commanding the latter to support their brethren in the prosecution of so flagrant an offence. The deputation demanded to be heard before the grand council; a demand which was complied with upon the condition, enforced by the general voice of the citizens, that the three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Rœschlin should be present, and should have the liberty of reply. With great reluctance the deputies acceded to this condition, and Faber delivered

Reformation more openly opposed.

Observance of Lent.

Deputation from the bishop of Constance.

Faber and Zwingle.

[1] Scult. 59. Ru. i. 102—105. Gerd. i. 277-8. ii. 165, 186, 241. Luther thought highly of him: Epist. ii. fo. 121, 126, 152.

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a pompous harangue against certain persons, (though without naming any,) who wished to abolish all the commandments and ceremonies of the church—the removal of which might be expected to draw after it the subversion of the Christian faith itself. He then urged the charge against the offending citizens, who had occasioned "scandal to the whole world;" exhorting the magistrates to steadfastness in their attachment to the church—"out of which there was no salvation;" and concluding with the declaration, that "the ceremonies were the only means of leading the people in the way to heaven." Zwingle replied, "that what S. Peter had said of the ceremonies of the Jews might well be applied to those of the church of Rome, that they were *a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear:* that it was not by means of ceremonies, but by the promulgation of the word of God, after the example set us by Jesus Christ and his apostles, that the people must be guided in the way to heaven: that, during the sixteen years that he had officiated in the diocese of Constance, the bishop had never once sent any deputation like the present, for the purpose of shewing how the word of God ought to be preached; and that he could not but be astonished that he should now treat, as of so much consequence, the omission, on the part of a few simple citizens, of an insignificant observance, which he (the speaker) would undertake to prove, from the scriptures and the fathers, was not binding on the consciences of Christians." In the end, the council came to a conclusion not very satisfactory to the deputation, That the bishop should be requested to assemble the dignitaries and theologians of his diocese, or,

Conclusion of the magistrates of Zuric.

if practicable, to obtain the decision of a council, both as to the present question, and as to the real cause of the dissentions complained of; that, in the mean time, the people should be exhorted to abstain from meat during lent; and that those who refused to do so, without urgent cause, should be punished.[1] A. D. 1522.

These proceedings drew from the pen of Zwingle a small work on "the distinction of Meats," including a consideration of the question of "Offences and Scandals:"[2] and this was his earliest publication, though, in order to despatch at once what related to the foreign pensions, we have previously noticed his "Exhortation" on that subject. As a *writer*, therefore, in the cause of the reformation, Zwingle was posterior to Luther by four or five years. Zwingle's first publication: April, 1522.

The following month the bishop, through the medium of Faber, addressed a long mandate, or exhortation,[3] to the clergy and the magistrates of his diocese, and another specially to the provost and chapter of Zuric, the object of which, as far as Zuric was concerned, evidently was to procure the dismissal of Zwingle—though still without naming him. They were accompanied by copies of the pope's bull and the edict of Worms against Luther. The writer deplored the divisions of the church, and that, in contempt of the edicts of the pope and the emperor, teachers, "prompted by the spirit of the devil, and acting only from motives of private ambition, preached against the ceremonies which had been ever in use in the church;" Mandates of the bishop. May.

[1] Ruchat, i. 110—113. Gerdes, i. 268—270, and the interesting Document, No. 21. Hess, 122.

[2] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 324—339.

[3] *Mandement. Paræsis.*

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and that the magistrates also were divided; and did not act the part which became them.—This mandate was ordered to be read by the clergy from the pulpit every Sunday and holiday.[1]

Proceedings of the cantons:

About the same time, the cantons, assembled at Lucerne, and influenced in part by these admonitions of the bishop of Constance, issued a decree prohibiting the preaching of "the new doctrine," as they styled it: and, having learned that the council of Baden had established a *preacher* in their town, they required the appointment to be cancelled, as a dangerous innovation; though they had themselves, a few months before, set a similar precedent at Neuchatel.[2]

and of the monks of Zuric.

Encouraged by these examples of their superiors, the monks of Zuric, of the three orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustins, preferred complaints against Zwingle, before the magistrates, as "incessantly attacking them, and rendering them odious to the people." They acknowledged that they on their part had not spared him; but, if he did not restrain his hostilities, they avowed that they should be driven to adopt more violent

June 7.

measures. They had a strong party favourable to them in the council, who so far prevailed as to procure an order prohibiting all "preaching or disputing against the monks." As this order was but ill observed, and controversial subjects still continued to occupy the pulpit, the two senior pastors, Zwingle and Engelhardt, on the one side, and, on the other, the readers in the convents, were called before a commission of the council, who enjoined them not to preach on topics which might foment

[1] Ru. i. 116, 117. Gerd. i. 27. [2] Ru. i. 121-2.

discord; at least not without previously communicating to the chapter the subjects which they proposed to discuss. Zwingle avowed his determination not to comply with this order; declaring that, agreeably to the decree of the sovereign council, and the oath which he had taken, he was resolved to preach the word of God without restriction: and the resolution which he manifested appears to have prevented any further attempt to fetter him. The monks, on the other hand, pleaded to be authorized to preach any doctrine drawn from Aquinas and Scotus: but this was refused them: and the whole happily ended in the renewal of the order, that nothing should be introduced into the pulpit which could not be clearly proved from the written word of God.[1] A. D. 1522.

Publications of Zwingle.

These transactions drew from Zwingle several publications. In the beginning of July, he, in the name of himself and his brethren, addressed to the members of the Helvetic Confederation, at large, a "Pious and Friendly Exhortation," entreating them "not to obstruct the preaching of the gospel, or discountenance the marriage of the clergy." In this work he explained the nature of the gospel; represented its great necessity generally, as alone discovering the way of salvation, and supplying to sinful and suffering mankind the consolation of which they stand in need; and its special necessity at that time, and in that country, where it had been long buried in oblivion. He then shewed that this salutary doctrine is to be drawn from the scriptures alone; and pointed out in what manner faithful teachers were to be distinguished from false ones. "He who, neglecting

[1] Scultet. 42. Ru. i. 119—121.

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his private interest, spares neither pains nor labour to cause the will of God to be known and revered, to bring back sinners to repentance, and to give consolation to the afflicted, is undoubtedly in unison with Christ. But, when you see teachers daily presenting to the veneration of the people new saints, whose favour must be gained by offerings; and when the same teachers continually hold forth the extent of the sacerdotal power, and the authority of the pope; you may believe that they think much more of their own profit, than of the care of the souls entrusted to them." He then asserted that the gospel was making progress so that no human power could stay its course: and he concluded this part of his address with avowing the purpose and hope of himself and his associates, to publish it to their countrymen in a way against which no just exception could be taken. Then, adverting to the scandalous lives of the ecclesiastics as one great prejudice to the cause of religion, he proceeded to plead against the prohibition of marriage to the clergy —a comparatively modern device, designed to aggrandise the church by breaking the ties which should attach the ministers of religion to their country, rendering them strangers to the domestic affections, and thus concentrating all their zeal upon the interests of the particular body to which they belonged; and, at the same time, a force upon nature, productive of unbounded licentiousness—of which the cantons had shown themselves so sensible, that "in some of them the priests were *required* to keep concubines, and every where that practice was permitted for money." [1]

[1] Zwing. Op. fo. 110—119. Ru. i. 122—124. Hess, 130—138.

A. D. 1522.

Swiss Reformers.

At the same time he addressed a "Supplication from certain Swiss Ministers to the Bishop of Constance," which had the same objects, and was to the same purport. It is remarkable as bearing the signatures of eleven of the zealous advocates of reformation in Switzerland—some of whose names here meet us for the first time. They are as follows: "Balthasar Trachsel, minister of Art, in the canton of Schweitz; George Chalybæus, or Stéhelin, minister of Weiningen, in the Common Bailliages; Werner Steiner, "priest;" Leo Jude, minister of Einsidlin; Erasmus Fabricius, or Schmidt, canon of Zuric and Zug; Simon Stumpf, minister of Hœngg; Jodocus (or Justus) Kilchmeyer, canon of Lucerne; Ulric Pistor, minister of Uster in the Common Bailliages; Caspar Megander, or Grossman, chaplain to the Hospital at Zuric; John Faber, or Schmidt, chaplain in the principal church of Zuric; and Ulric Zwingle."[1]—Both these pieces were written from Einsidlin, during a visit which their author made to his friend Leo Jude at this place of his own former residence.—To affix their names to such an address to their diocesan, whose hostility to their views had been publicly manifested, required more boldness than some of the clergy possessed, who yet were heartily friendly to the object. Zimmerman, canon of Lucerne, before mentioned, is said to have excused himself to Zwingle, with tears in his eyes.[2]

Zwingle's Archeteles.

About six weeks after appeared a work of Zwingle's, which has obtained more celebrity—his "Archeteles," or the Beginning and

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 120—123. I have made the *additions* to the names from Ruchat, i. 125.

[2] Ru. i. 126.

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the End—in other words, a summary of the main points at issue between the reformers and their opponents. This work also is addressed to the bishop of Constance, and is an answer, paragraph by paragraph, to that prelate's late mandate to the chapter of Zuric. The author however is no stranger to the courtesy, or policy, of considering that document not as the bishop's own work; but as proceeding from unprincipled advisers; in effect, it would seem, from Faber. While he treats the bishop therefore with at least all due respect, he spares neither the mandate nor its assumed authors. The Archeteles, says Gerdes, "exhibits a true picture of the Zwinglian reformation —very different from what it has been represented by many writers." It was highly esteemed, not only in Switzerland, but in foreign countries, as proving the author to be "mighty in the scriptures," and one who united an intrepid courage with true Christian moderation.[1] It is the same work from which we have, in the preceding chapter, given the author's own account of his preaching at Zuric, from the time of his first settlement in that city.

Zwingle and Luther.

On reading over, however, these three works of Zwingle's, I must confess that I feel the defect which Dr. Milner has noticed in his writings as compared with those of Luther.[2] A fine, elevated, and intrepid spirit pervades them; they are free from that coarseness which often offends us in Luther; they nobly assert the exclusive authority and sufficiency of scripture, and shew a mind rich in the knowledge of the sacred writings; they maintain the true

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 124—144. Ru. i. 118. Gerd. i. 273—277. [2] Milner v. 531, 540. (1132, 1141.)

principles of the gospel; but it is not with that warm personal feeling of their inestimable worth and indispensable necessity, which ever appears in all that Luther wrote. Christ as our teacher, and our deliverer from the dominion of sin, is more prominent than Christ as our atonement and righteousness. The doctrine of justification by faith alone is there: but it does not pervade the frame, as the life's blood of the whole system; the source of warmth, and strength, and comfort, and of all vitality; as we see it to be in the illustrious Saxon. This difference is, no doubt, to be traced, not so much to any discrepancy of sentiment between them, as to the paths in which they had respectively been led with reference to mental conflict and temptation: and accordingly I apprehend we shall find that Zwingle, as he went forward, became more thoroughly evangelical both in his views and his feelings; as every spiritually minded Christian will do, in proportion to his advancement in self-knowledge and in the knowledge of God.[1] A. D. 1522.

Prayer of Zwingle.

After this preference given to Luther on one most essential point, it may be some compensation to transcribe a portion of the devout and beautiful prayer with which Zwingle closes the last of his three works here noticed. "On thee therefore I call, O blessed Lord, to perform the work, which thou hast begun, unto the day of thy coming. If I have ever built up any thing erroneously, do thou throw it down. If I have laid any other foundation than thyself, do thou subvert it. Let thy flock, taught and imbued with thy Spirit, come to know, that it can never be wanting in any

[1] See Milner, v. 540. (1141-2.) We read nothing of Zwingle like what is recorded of Luther, ib. iv. 419. (398-9.)

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thing, while it is guided and fed by thee, its true pastor and bishop. For thou, O Son of God, art the protector and advocate of all that hope in thee.... Thou therefore, O most blessed Vine, whose dresser is the Father, and we the branches, forsake not thy plantation, thy building![1] Thou hast promised to be with us even unto the end of the world; and hast bid us, when brought before kings and rulers, to be without carefulness, for that the Spirit shall teach us in the same hour what we ought to speak; so that even the unwilling may hear the testimony concerning thee. Put therefore into the mouth of all thy servants, who seek thy glory, and hallow thy name, *sound speech*, that they may utter before the princes of this world those things which shall be acceptable in thy sight, and serviceable to miserable mortals! Thus shall we, who are members one of another, and one body in thee our sole and never-living head, become thy one spouse, betrothed to thee, having neither spot nor wrinkle; and *she* shall be forsaken,[2] who is made up of corruptions and defilements, on account of which the name of God is blasphemed: O Thou who livest and reignest, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, One God, for ever and ever. Amen."

Zwingle's address to his brothers.

But another work of Zwingle's, published at this time, or rather an introductory letter prefixed to it, which has already been mentioned, must not be passed unnoticed. The work is merely a sermon on the character and history of the Virgin Mary, whom he was charged with reviling in the grossest manner, because he refused her the divine honours so impiously

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 9.

[2] No dubious hint concerning utter separation from Rome.

paid to her by the papists. But his inscription of it to his *five brothers*, in a copious epistle, exhibits many interesting traits of his character and principles. His brothers, it seems, manifested great uneasiness at the shocking reports which were propagated concerning him,[1] and indeed much distrust of the whole course which he was pursuing; and they wished to see and confer with him on the subject. He in return expresses the most sincere affection for them, and assures them that he took such interest in their concerns as to leave himself uninformed of nothing which related to them. When he heard of their applying themselves diligently to their honest callings in life, after the example of their fathers, particularly the ancient and honourable pursuit of agriculture, it gave him the greatest satisfaction: but when he heard of any of their number giving into the practice of mercenary warfare, and hiring themselves out to shed blood, "a service of which Satan was the author, and which not only destroyed temporal life, but exposed the soul to eternal damnation;" then no words could express the anguish he felt on their account. He trusted, however, that the mercy and grace of God would restrain or reclaim them from such a course. "And I hope," he says, "you will entertain the like good confidence concerning me. For, as far as the divine goodness shall enable me, I will not cease to discharge faithfully and diligently the duties entrusted to me, unmoved by the fear of the world, and the powerful tyrants of the world, who will never allow the salutary preaching

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[1] He enumerates many of the most atrocious kind in a Vindication of himself to the assembled cantons, in 1523. Op. i. 148.

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of the word of God to soften their hard hearts, and bring down their proud spirits. With respect to myself, I am not at all solicitous: for I have long since committed myself and all that concerns me to the providence of God .... Be assured there is no kind of evil which can befall me, that I have not fully taken into my account, and am not prepared to meet. I know indeed that my strength is perfect weakness. I know also the power of those with whom I have undertaken to contend. But, as S. Paul says concerning himself, *I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me.* I know that no one can guide a soul into the way of salvation divinely provided for us, without the Spirit and power of God. But, if I should desert the service assigned me, some one else would be found to take it up, whom God would impel forward to perform that which he now effects by my means —while I should incur the just and fatal punishment due to the disobedient son, who said to his father, *I go, Sir, and went not.* It is God's purpose to recover this corrupt world, and to purify the depraved manners of the age in which we live, by the manifestation of his word. And who can contemplate either the horrible wickedness and the perversion of religion that prevail, or the immense goodness of Almighty God, who deigns to offer himself and all his blessings to lost mankind, and seeks to reclaim from the ruin, in which sin has involved him, the noble work of his hands, which he hath formed, and, when fallen, restored—having redeemed him from eternal damnation, at the price of his own blood: who, I say, that has the office of preaching the word of God committed to him, can contemplate these things, and yet yield to the impious

opposition of the ungodly, and surcease his labours? God forbid! For then, as the Lord threatens his prophet, the blood of souls would be required at his hand. But suppose, in the discharge of his duty, a man should incur all that the world can do to him; all the mockery and insult, all the infamy that it can heap upon him, and in the end a cruel and ignominous death: I leave you to judge what ought to be *my* choice in such a case. Would you have me connive at all the enormous wickedness which God has commanded me to extirpate, and thus purchase the temporary and perishing repose of this life, at the expence of the loss of my soul, and everlasting damnation? No: but you will say, 'I might reprove sin with mildness and moderation.' My dearest brothers, is the wickedness of the world so moderate and venial, that you think my reproofs of it more severe than the occasion calls for? If you do think so, you mistake most grievously. The enormities of our times are so great, that the most cutting words of the prophets, and the severest judgments of the divine anger, are unequal to them. They call for a Jonas to proclaim, *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.* Lay aside, I beseech you, all your cares and anxiety upon this head. I much more fear being too mild and gentle for the exigencies of the times, than assailing the world too roughly and severely. Bear patiently my lot; which is, at the cost of fame, honour, liberty, or perhaps of this wretched life itself, to be the instrument of eternal salvation to numerous souls; and myself, by the power of divine grace, to become the heir of a blissful immortality!—But you say, 'What a disgrace would it be, and with what infamy would it brand our

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whole family, should you be brought to the stake as a heretic, or otherwise suffer an ignominious death? and what profit could result from it?' My dear brothers, hear my answer. Christ the Saviour and Lord of all, whose soldier I am, hath said, *Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy, for behold your reward is great in heaven.* Hence learn, that the more my name is branded with infamy in this world for the Lord's sake, the more will it be had in honour in the sight of God himself.—And the same sentiment you ought to form concerning yourselves also.... Whoever therefore would (at last) come to God, and be united with him, must learn to regard God alone and his will, and not his fellow mortals, who, so far from securing the happiness of those that follow them, cannot save them from eternal damnation. They may prevail to kill the body, but the soul they cannot touch. And by doing the former they only bring upon themselves a worse destruction, though they be kings or emperors, bishops, cardinals, or popes..... Christ the Son of God condescended to shed his blood for our salvation: he is a cowardly soldier, therefore, of Christ, and unworthy the name, who would not willingly sacrifice his life for the glory of his Commander; but rather, like one who basely casts away his shield,[1] contemplates disgraceful flight."—He then adverts more particularly to the reproaches cast upon him, and introduces the explanation, before given, respecting the pensions he had formerly

[1] "Rhipsaspis."

received from the pope. He adds some remarks relative to the discourse which he now publishes, and then draws to a conclusion, as follows: "You are my own brothers, born of the same mother, and as such I acknowledge you: if then you will not be my brothers in Christ, and in the matter of faith and religion, I must regret it with the deepest pain and grief; for the sentence of Christ our Saviour requires us to leave such, and to forsake even father and mother who would withdraw us from our faith in him. Rely on the word of God with an unhesitating and assured mind. But know that the word of God is not what every pastor or other ecclesiastic may deliver to you, but what God has attested in the scriptures, and suggests to the mind by one who teaches under the influence of his Spirit. Then there is nothing which you may not promise yourselves from the grace and goodness of God.—Remember also that this life is a vale of trials and tears, not a theatre of joy and pleasures. Think it not then a hardship to bear your share of poverty and suffering, and seek relief by no improper means.[1] Carry all your sorrows and complaints to Christ: pour out your prayers before him; seek from him alone grace, peace, and the remission of sins. Finally, be joined to Christ by such an intimate tie and bond of union, that he may be one with you, and you with him; that you may know that he is your brother, and may speak to him as such: for this alone is true and devout prayer. God grant, that, being received under his guardian care, you may be led by his Spirit, and under his teaching!

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[1] He specifies usury and exaction.

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Amen. I will never cease to be your faithful brother, if only you will be the brethren of Christ.—At Zuric, in great haste, [1] in the year of Christ, 1522."[2]

Remarks.

All this must command our unmixed admiration and delight. It must lead us to glorify God who hath "given such power unto men," even to weak mortals like ourselves. But, alas! to what reflections must it lead us on our own spirit and conduct, as compared with such Christian heroes! But God is able still to raise up men of the same temper; yea to elevate *us* to such a temper, and thus even by *our* means to work a great "deliverance in the earth." Let us pray for it: let us hope for it: let us aspire after it.

Dangers of Zwingle.

The personal dangers to which Zwingle was now exposed were so great, that the magistrates were induced to station a guard at his house. Repeated attempts are said to have been made to poison him. Myconius mentions the following among various plots which were formed to assassinate him. Two monks came late in the evening to his house, and requested to speak with him: when his servant, having desired him not too readily to present himself, stepped forward, and was immediately attacked by the strangers; who, on finding their mistake, hastily retreated.[3] Thus did providence protect him, as well as his great fellow-labourer Luther, from the hand of the secret assassin, no less than from open and legalized violence.

His co-adjutors.

The same good providence continued to raise him up helpers, and to strengthen his hands against the time of more urgent need. We have seen the bold and open part which

[1] *Raptim.* [2] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 340-342.
[3] J. H. Hottinger, vi 236, &c. Ru. i. 137-8.

Engelhardt took with him. He this year acquired the assistance of John Stumpf, and also drew to him at Zuric his old friends Leo Jude and Myconius. Stumpf was the earliest historian of Switzerland; and his Chronicle is still held in esteem. He was a native of Bruchsal, near Spire; and received his education at Heidelberg, and Friburg in Brisgau. He took orders at Basle, and was called, in 1522, to the cure of Bubikon in the canton of Zuric, which he served usefully for twenty-one years. He afterwards became pastor of Stamheim; and when he found age advancing upon him retired to the city of Zuric, where he died, at the age of sixty-six, in the year 1566.[1]—Leo Jude was at Zwingle's instance repeatedly invited from Einsidlin to preach at S. Peter's church in Zuric, the appointment to which was in the hands of the principal parishioners. They felt themselves so much edified by his discourses, that they earnestly pressed him to take the charge of their parish, in the place of their pastor Rœschlin, now become incapable through age.[2] Myconius, soon after his being driven from Lucerne, was recalled, as we have seen, to Zuric, where he was placed at the head of the academical institution which Zwingle had been the means of establishing there.[3] Thus to regain the society of his friend, and to see him, after his troubles, placed in an honourable and useful situation, for which he was peculiarly qualified, was highly gratifying to Zwingle. We have

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Stumpf.

Leo Jude called to Zuric.

And Myconius.

[1] Ru. i. 105-6.

[2] Ru. 106-7. Gerd. i. 108. He was appointed at Whitsuntide, 1522, but did not take up his abode at Zuric till February, 1523.

[3] Above. p. 358.—Ru. i. 135-6. Gerd. ii. 233.

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witnessed the spirit of Christian heroism and wisdom in which he had written to Myconius, encouraging him to maintain his post to the last at Lucerne: when it became clear that he must abandon it, he wrote to him, in the same style, not to disquiet himself, or fear being deserted; but to consider what had befallen him as only affording him "the occasion of learning to pray for his enemies and calumniators." He invited him immediately to repair to Zuric, though he had, as yet, no particular situation to propose to him: he would find, at least, agreeable and improving society. His friends would lose no opportunity of serving him; and, though he was quitting his native place, he must remember the sentence—that "the man of firmness and resolution will regard every place in which his lot is cast as his native country." He piously adds, "For we have here no continuing city; but we seek one to come."[1]

Influence of the reformation at Zuric.

Zwingle also at this time carried, though not without considerable difficulty, some important measures for the reformation of manners at Zuric. He induced the magistrates to remove from the city all women known to be of loose and

[1] J. H. Hott. vi. 353—355. He says, "You may serve us in many ways at Zuric, and at the same time improve yourself, for Ceporinus is about to commence lectures in Greek and Hebrew." And then, in language which shews how much he esteemed the society in which he lived, though it would ill admit of translation, he proceeds: "Versaberis inter tuos Utingeros, Engelhardos, Rhegios, festivissimos senes; inter Erasmos, (Schmidt,) Zuinglios, Megandros, viros minime pœnitendos; inter Crebelios, Amanos, Binderos, candidissimos et doctissimos adolescentes. Aderit etiam tandem, immensis istis viribus suis rugiens, ac justitiam sitiens, *Leo*, Teucro minor, sed Ajace fortior. Aderit crebrò dulcissimus ille Eremi administrator, (Geroldseck,) omnium pater qui Deum colunt, cum Francisco nostro, (Zingk,) quo nihil vidi lepidius ac amicius."

abandoned character, and to abolish those asylums which the Roman catholic churches often afforded to all criminals, without distinction. A change was also now made relative to a nunnery at Zuric, which, occurring at so early a period, must be considered as remarkable. Some of the inhabitants of this convent applied to the magistrates for leave to quit their retreat, alleging that they were convinced they could better consult for the salvation of their souls without its walls, than within them. The majority, however, of the sisterhood opposed the petition. The magistrates, with a becoming union of caution and liberality, ordered that the society should continue together till the following Whitsuntide; and engaged that, in the mean time, their superiors both in church and state should take care that they were well instructed as to what might be their duty. At the expiration of the time, those who still wished to quit the house were allowed to do it, and those who remained were placed under the pastoral superintendence of Leo Jude.[1] All this demonstrates the great influence which the reformer and his principles had obtained. A. D. 1522.

A journey which Zwingle at this time took may be mentioned to his honour. It was to Basle, to obtain an interview with Erasmus, and to endeavour to dissuade that learned but undecided man from writing against Luther, which he was much importuned to do by the pope and other high personages. Zwingle would fain have prevailed with him not to retract what he had done in favour of the reformation, and have inspired him with courage Zwingle visits Erasmus.

[1] Ru. i. 136, 137, 99.

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rather to espouse its cause decidedly and boldly. It is superfluous to add, that his efforts were unavailing.[1]

Imprisonment of Wyss.

At this period also occurred the first instance of direct violence by which the reformation was opposed in Switzerland. The pastors of a district on the lake of Zuric, assembled at Rapperswyl, came to the unanimous resolution of preaching no doctrine which they could not prove from the scriptures. In consequence of this reoslution, John Urban Wyss, pastor of Visisbach, in the county of Baden, preached against the invocation of the saints; and for so doing was thrown into prison. Ruchat, following J. J. Hottinger, says that this was done by order of the cantons; which, with the exception of Zuric, prohibited anew all preaching against the church of Rome, and wrote to the cities of Zuric and Basle (where alone within the limits of the Swiss confederation printing presses were then established,) exhorting them to restrain the printing of *new* books. He adds, that Wyss's parishioners interceded for him, and obtained his release by the payment of a hundred guilders. But Scultetus says it was the bishop of Constance who imprisoned him: and we shall hereafter find that that prelate certainly held him in custody in the following year.[2]

Progress of the reformation.

While these things were taking place in connexion with Zuric, the seeds of reformation began to shoot forth in other parts of Switzerland, though they were frequently checked as by an unkindly soil and climate. At Basle,

Basle.

William Reublin, a native of Roteburg on the Neckar, and pastor of St. Alban's church

[1] Ru. i. 134-5. [2] Ib. i. 138, 139. Scultet. 42.

preached the gospel with so much acceptance that he is said to have been usually attended by four thousand hearers. The sovereign council, however, stirred up by the bishop of the place and the clergy, banished him the city, in spite of the earnest solicitations of the citizens in his behalf. John Luthard, however, another preacher of the reformed doctrine, maintained his ground, and was soon after joined by Œcolampadius.[1]

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1521.

1522.

S. Gallen also enjoyed the light of the gospel by means of the ministry of Benedict Burgawer, pastor of the parish of S. Laurence, and his assistant Wolfgang Wetter. But these persons would probably have been reduced to silence but for the support afforded them by the excellent Vadian, who at this time delivered his lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.[2]

S. Gallen.

1521.

1522.

At Constance, in addition to Wanner, above-mentioned, two other persons, named Windner and Metzler, are said to have preached the truth, previously to Blaurer's settlement in that place.[3]

Constance. 1521.

At Waldshut on the Rhine, Balthasar Hubmeyer, who derived from the town of Fridberg the name of Pacimontanus, preached with zeal and success in 1522: but two years afterwards he unhappily fell into the errors of the Anabaptists; in consequence of which the reformation at Waldshut failed.[4]

Waldshut.

The Grisons are numbered among the "associates" or "confederates" of the cantons. They are divided into three leagues, the Grey league, that of God's House, (so called from its including the cathedral and episcopal town of Coire,) and that of the Ten Jurisdictions. It appears

The Grisons.

[1] Ru. i. 74, 91, 133-4. Gerd. i. 288. ii. 230.
[2] Ru. i. 92, 115. Gerd. ii. 246. Scult. 49.
[3] Ru. i. 93. [4] Ru. i. 93-4. Gerd. ii. 249, 272.

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that within the lapse of a year from the time when Zwingle had commenced the reformation of the church of Zuric, a schoolmaster of Coire became his correspondent, and informed him that his name was well known to many in that country, who approved his doctrine and were weary of the simony of the church of Rome. He soon after received a letter to the same purport from the chief magistrate of Mayenfeld, within the league of the Ten Jurisdictions. About the year 1521, James Burkli of Zuric is said to have preached the gospel, first at Flesch and afterwards at Mayenfeld. At the latter place he entered into conference with Christian Anhorn, the treasurer of the town, a man of eminence, who, being by his means led to embrace the truth, afterwards supported him with all his credit, and defended him against his enemies. The next year we read of James Salandroni, Conrad, pastor of Davos, and James Biveroni, surnamed Tuschell, or Tuschet, being embarked in the same cause. Biveroni is a celebrated character, who rendered great services to the churches of his country, not only by preaching, but by translating the scriptures into the language of Upper Engadina—a dialect of the Romansh, in which it would seem that no work had previously been published.

Berne.

Haller has been mentioned as the reformer of Berne, where he took up his residence in the year 1520.[2] His labours there were attended with success, but he encountered much opposition; for the Bernese were originally much devoted to the see of Rome. Haller, we observed, was naturally timid; and we find him at this time so much affected with the

[1] M'Crie's Italy, 313. Ruchat, i. 92-3, 130. Coxe, Let. 90.

[2] Above, p. 382.

difficulties of his situation, as to entertain serious thoughts of quitting it. Zwingle wrote to him, December 28, 1521, urging him not to think of deserting his flock, and describing to him his own conflicts, and the manner in which he had found his courage revived, and his resolution strengthened. At the same time he gave him the most temperate and prudent counsel. "Do you yourself," he says, "execute boldly what you apply to me to do for you; that your fierce bears"—alluding to the arms of Berne, in which the bear is conspicuous—"may be tamed by the gospel of Christ. You must proceed, however, with great mildness and gentleness: for that will not do with you which will with us. The ears of your people are more delicate; and therefore must not be addressed in so pungent a manner. Christ himself suggests to us counsel of this sort, when he says, *Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they turn again and rend you,* and the minds of many be for ever prejudiced against the gospel. You must treat them, therefore, with caution, and bear their rudeness, till, overcome by your patience and perseverance, they put off their fierceness. Peter sets us the example, saying, *I wot that through ignorance ye did it:* and Paul, in feeding those with milk, who were not able to bear strong meat. All the apostles likewise submitted patiently to harsh treatment; not reproaching the council, when they were beaten with stripes. They did not, however, cease to preach. Thus I intreat you *to become all things to all men,* lest, along with you, Christ also should be driven away.... And, while my name is in bad repute among your people, bear that also, lest your own reputation

A. D. 1522.

Correspondence of Zwingle and Haller.

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with me should suffer by your refusing to do it."

This letter Haller acknowledged with the warmest expressions of gratitude. It had fortified his mind, he said, against every species of trial. Without it, he believed he should have given up his ministry, and retired to Basle to pursue his studies in quiet. "But," he proceeds, "roused by your delightful letter, I have resumed my courage, and have persuaded myself, by the aid of your truly Christian exhortation, that it is better, even in these times of calamity, to preach the gospel, than to bury myself in learned studies, be they what they may; till, by the power of God working mightily with his word, I prove the means of bringing back Christ, who has been excluded and banished from amongst us by monkish fooleries."[1]

Thus was the correspondence of these great and good men improved to the mutual "strengthening of each other's hands in God." Thus does God raise and confirm the minds of his fainting servants by means of one another. And of such happy effects may a few seasonable sentences, uttered in simplicity of heart, and committed to the divine blessing, be productive. Let no Christian despair of helping, in this manner, even the most honoured of his brethren. None are above the need of such assistance: none are too feeble to become God's instruments in communicating it.

Opposition of the bishop of Lausanne.

Berne lay within the diocese of Lausanne: and soon after this time the bishop, a man

[1] Epist. Œ. et Z. 190. Zuing. Op. i. 415. Gerd. ii. Doc. No. 13. Further extracts will be given from Zwingle's letter hereafter.

of loose manners and devoted to his pleasures, acting perhaps in concert with his brother of Constance, wrote to the lords of Berne, to the same purport as we have seen that the latter prelate did to those of Zuric, calling upon them to put down the teachers of the new doctrine. Haller and his brethren, after the example of Zwingle, replied to the bishop's letter, but their answer has not been preserved. The hostility now manifested by the Roman-catholic clergy, stimulated by the mandate of their bishop, was extreme. They tore the books of the reformers from the hands of the people; endeavoured to blast the characters of the authors by the foulest calumnies; and even demanded of the magistrates that the sacraments and the rites of burial should be refused to those who read "evangelical books," or opposed the doctrines of the church of Rome. The hands of Haller, however, were now strengthened by the co-operation of Sebastian Meyer,[1] who, as a reader or professor of divinity among the Franciscans, lectured on S. Paul's epistles, and from the pulpit preached on the several articles of the creed. They were also, in common, encouraged amid their difficulties by finding that they had the support of several members of the sovereign council, some canons of the cathedral, and a numerous body of the citizens; among whom Valerius Anselm, a physician, is particularly mentioned.[2]

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An event soon after occurred in the neighbourhood of Berne, which, in its results, contributed much to the success of the reformed. George Brunner, curate to the dean

G. Brunner. 1523.

[1] Above, p. 382.
[2] Ru. i. 96, 107-8, 118-9, 126-7, 145-6, 223.

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of Musingen, had in a sermon represented the pope as Antichrist. He soon after obtained the living of Hœnstetten, where many persons from the surrounding parishes were attracted to hear him; which reduced the offerings made to the ministers of those parishes. Indignant at the loss thus suffered, the dean, (his late rector,) in concurrence with the chamberlain of the chapter and some others of the clergy, applied to the lords of Berne to remove Brunner to some other situation. They refused to inflict such an implied censure upon him, without previously hearing him in his own defence: and, as he offered to maintain his doctrine from the scriptures, they ordered that he should do this in the presence of certain ecclesiastics. A pressure of other business, however, causing some delay, the dean informed the council that he had received orders from the bishop of Constance to send Brunner to him. The council would not permit such an interference in a case which was already before them for adjudication; and they appointed a commission of seven members of their own body, and seven divines of Berne, to whom they added Dr. Wyttenbach of Bienne, and Benedict Steiner, dean of Burgdorff, to hear the cause. The latter we shall find, at least a little before this time, opposed to the reformation. The dean of Musingen, with four members of his chapter, in consequence presented against Brunner twelve articles, drawn from his sermons, relating to the pope, the consecration of priests, the mass, and other points. The proceedings took place with open doors; and Brunner explained and vindicated his doctrine on all these heads. Under each of them he paused, and asked his opponents whether they

had any thing to object, or to offer in reply; but they observed a profound silence, alleging that they had not come thither to dispute. The lay commissioners then desired the ecclesiastical ones to consider two questions, 1. whether Brunner had sufficiently justified himself; and, 2. whether he might properly be allowed to retain his situation. To both questions they returned affirmative answers; and they at the same time besought the lords, that, if any further proceedings were taken in the case, they would not permit them to be removed from Berne. Both the decision and the prayer were approved by the council, and the dean of Musingen was condemned in the costs of the suit.[1]—Instances like this shewed strikingly the freedom and independence of the Swiss governments; how much the church of Rome was restrained in the exercise of her usurped prerogatives under such governments; and, we must add, how much she had recently lost of the mysterious veneration in which she had been held. A. D. 1522.

Similar attempts in favour of reformation, but not with the same successful issue, were made in Lucerne—which still continues the first of the Roman-catholic cantons of Switzerland. An annual procession, followed by a Latin oration, was observed at the town of Lucerne, in commemoration of a great fire which had happened there. In the year 1522, Conrad Fabricius, or Schmidt, commander or commendator of Kusnacht,[2] on the lake of Zuric, Lucerne.

[1] Ru. i. 146—149. Gerd. ii. 238.

[2] We shall afterwards frequently meet with the name of this person as a promoter of the reformation. His appointment was ecclesiastical, but its title was derived from a connexion with the Teutonic knights: "Teutonici ordinis

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being present at this solemnity, was called upon to deliver the oration; which he did, not in the Latin, but in the German language, that it might be generally understood; and he directed his discourse against indulgences, pilgrimages, and the authority of the pope, and taught clearly the doctrine of the grace of God in Christ. He was eagerly listened to at the time; but his doctrine was afterwards assailed from the pulpit by the pastor of the town. About the same time a priest of Lucerne having seduced a married woman, and then killed her husband when he reclaimed her, Justus Kilchmeyer, a canon of the place, preached against the prohibition of marriage to the clergy, as the true source of such atrocities: but the consequence was, that the year following he was compelled to resign his canonry and quit the town. Sebastian Hoffman also, of Strasburg, a Minorite monk, having preached at Lucerne against the invocation of the saints, was excommunicated by the bishop of the diocese, and forced to betake himself to flight. He retired to Schaffhausen, where we shall afterwards find him usefully employed. It was at this time also that Myconius was dismissed.[1]

Zug.

In the canton of Zug, Bartholomew Stocker, Werner Steiner, and Justus Müller are mentioned as labouring with faithfulness and patience, amid opposition and discouragement. Steiner is known as the author of a history of the reformation. He was also one of the translators of the Swiss German Bible.[2]

Commendator," he is called in Zuing. Op. ii. 228: but "commander" is his more usual appellation.

[1] Ru. i. 108—110, 129. J. H. Hott. vi. 351—356. Gerd. ii. 230, 231.

[2] J. H. Hott. vi. 369—371. Ru. i. 110. Gerd. ii. 243-4.

Sebastian Hoffman, it has been just stated, on quitting Lucerne, removed to Schaffhausen. He and Sebastian Hoffmeister,[1] both of them Franciscans, there laboured harmoniously together, the former preaching in the cathedral, the latter in the church of his order, and proved the instruments of permanently establishing the reformation.[2] A. D. 1522. Schaffhausen.

In the canton of Appenzel, the writings of Luther and other reformers produced so powerful an effect, as to excite no less a number than twenty-six ecclesiastics, at this early period, to avow similar sentiments. James Schurtanner (or Ceraunelateus) was particularly distinguished, both on account of his age, his learning, his piety, and his general weight of character. Zwingle dedicated to him, in 1524, his book on the sacred office, intitled "Pastor;" highly commending his faith and diligence, and expressing great joy at the progress of the gospel in Appenzel. It may be remarked, that by much the greater part of this canton to the present day professes the reformed faith. The names also of Walter Klarer, John Dœring, and Pelagius Amstein are distinguished among the reformers of Appenzel. The last-mentioned person exerted himself zealously in the reformation of the Rheinthal and Tockenburg.[3] Appenzel.

At Friburg, which ultimately rejected the reformation, several persons of influence were at this time found to plead its cause. The names of Peter Falck, or Fauçon, an eminent magistrate, John Houlard, canon, and afterwards dean, John Van, chantor, and John Kother, Friburg.

[1] Above, p. 383.

[2] J. H. Hott. vi. 396–400. Ru. i. 113, 114, 152-3. Gerd. ii. 249, 250.

[3] Ru. i. 114. Gerd. ii. 247.

organist of the cathedral, have been handed down to us, as of this description.[1]

Soleure.

At Soleure, which, like Friburg, continues a Roman-catholic canton, Zwingle had at this time partizans; particularly Melchior Macrinus, a man of learning, and secretary to the government. In the year 1522, Macrinus entered into a discussion with some priests, and the dean of Burgdorff, at the convent of Fraubrunnen, in the canton of Berne. The dean made Macrinus's too great acquaintance with the Greek language a matter of complaint against him—we may suppose, on account of the inconvenience it occasioned him, and of his not being himself overcharged with this kind of learning. The principal subjects of dispute were, the mass, and the power of the priests to offer a propitiatory sacrifice therein. Macrinus would acknowledge no sacrificing priest but Jesus Christ, nor any other propitiatory sacrifice than that which *he* had offered on the cross. The priests in consequence threatened to proceed against him on a charge of heresy. But it is remarkable, that the magistrates of Soleure interfered on his behalf, and proposed, if the parties could not agree, to call in the aid of Zwingle and other learned men to decide between them. In the end, Meyer, of Berne, supported Macrinus so vigorously, that the affair terminated much to the satisfaction of the latter; and he wrote to Zwingle with great animation, assuring the reformer that they had many persons at Soleure who concurred in their sentiments.[2]

Reflections.

Thus, on its revival at the reformation, as on its first promulgation in the world, the gospel

[1] J. H. Hott. vi. 390—396. Ru. i. 150, 184. Gerd. ii. 244-5.
[2] J. H. Hott. vi. 385, &c. Ru. i. 151-2. Gerd. ii. 248

was every where opposed and persecuted, but every where made converts, and was attended with success, in a greater or less degree. Offensive as it may be to the prejudices and corrupt propensities of mankind, it has that in it which "commends itself to every man's *conscience*, as in the sight of God." And, just as at its first propagation the superstitions and abominations of heathenism fell before it, so did the mummeries and impostures, and, we must add, the idolatries of popery shew themselves unable to stand against it, when it was restored, and preached anew, with a measure of the same blessing of heaven accompanying it. Nay, the delusions which had prevailed did but prepare many the more thankfully to welcome the "great light" which thus arose upon them: for, though weak, erring, and depraved human nature readily admits the impostures which "the god of this world" practises upon it, and, even when it groans under their effects, is not able "to deliver itself, or say, *Is there not a lie in my right hand?*" yet, when God himself arises to its aid, and sets his truth before men, they cannot but do homage to its superior excellence, and confess it to be infinitely more worthy of their regard, than that which had hitherto engrossed them. "What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord. Is not my word like as a fire? and like the hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" There will indeed always be those who will withstand it—hitherto, alas! it is to be feared, a great majority—men who "love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil;" "in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel

A. D. 1522.

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of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them:" but God also will himself provide, wherever he sends his word, men of another stamp, to whom the gospel shall prove "the power of God unto salvation." His word "shall not return unto him void, but shall accomplish that which he pleaseth, and shall prosper in the thing whereto he sendeth it." To some, indeed, it becomes "the savour of death unto death;" but to others it is "the savour of life unto life." Be it our care, each for himself, that we may be found among the latter class. And for this end let it be our continual prayer, that "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, would shine into our hearts;" and, purging thence all carnal and corrupt affections, which blind and bewilder the mind, would "give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," that we may be "changed into his image from glory to glory," till at length we come to "his presence, where is fulness of joy, and pleasures at his right hand for evermore." Amen!

CHAPTER XVI.

DISPUTATIONS OF ZURIC.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION TO THE YEAR 1525.

A. D. 1523.

First Disputation of Zuric.

THE commencement of the year 1523 was marked by the occurrence of the first of those public disputations, or discussions, which so materially advanced the progress of the reformation in Switzerland. Zwingle finding himself more and more assailed, especially by the Dominican friars, with the charges of heresy, and of teaching principles subversive of the church, and of the good order of society, addressed himself to the supreme council of Zuric, requesting that the subject might be brought to a hearing before them. He represented that he was perfectly willing, and even desirous, to submit his doctrine to examination; and that, if it could be proved erroneous, he would retract it: that, if the charges brought against him could be substantiated, he refused not to submit to the consequences: but that it was incompatible with his peace, and the peace of the citizens,[1] and also with the honour of the council, as his

[1] The populace, it seems, often went the length of publicly giving the lie to the Roman-catholic teachers in the pulpit: nor could they be restrained from doing this by the punishments inflicted upon them. Ruchat, i. 157-8.

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patrons, that such charges should be perpetually circulated, without ever being brought forward in a tangible shape, so that he could meet and fairly grapple with them, or be confronted with their authors. Only one thing he stipulated—that the appeal should be made only to the scriptures, as the sole rule of judgment, and not to mere custom, or the traditions of men. The council in consequence took up the case; appointed a meeting to be held in their public hall, or senate house, on the twenty-ninth of January, and called upon all persons, who had any thing to allege against the doctrine or conduct of the chief pastor, to come forward and make their allegations, and to support them without fear. They invited the attendance of the clergy of the canton, generally; and addressed a special request to the diocesan, the bishop of Constance, to be present, either personally or by his representatives; and another to the diet of the cantons, then assembled at Baden, soliciting them to send deputies to assist on the occasion.

It is to be observed, that the question which Zwingle proposed to submit to the council was not, generally, the truth or falsehood of his doctrine, (for we shall see that he disclaimed all human authority to pronounce definitively upon that,) but only whether he could be proved to have taught such unscriptural tenets, or to have been guilty of such other misconduct, as rendered him unworthy of their support; and whether therefore he should be silenced, or should be protected against insult and injury. No doubt also he sought the opportunity of making his real principles more generally known, and of bringing the arguments by which they were defended, as well as the

weakness of those reasonings which his adversaries could urge against them, before numbers whom he could not otherwise reach; leaving the whole under the divine blessing, to work its effects on the minds of the auditors. A. D. 1523.

In order that it might be fully understood what were the doctrines which he proposed to maintain, and that none might plead that they were taken by surprise at the discussion, he comprised the whole in sixty-seven brief Articles, which he published a sufficient time before the day of meeting.[1] Zwingle's sixty-seven Articles.

It is highly observable, that precisely at this period, in the interval between the issuing of the summons by the council, and the meeting taking place, the pope, Adrian VI, (who had succeeded Leo X. a year before,) addressed to Zwingle, to his friend Francis Zingk of Einsidlin, and to the burgomaster of Zuric, highly flattering letters, holding out to them the hopes of receiving distinguishing marks of his favour. What was the design of letters of this description, written to such persons and at such a juncture, there can be little room to doubt. They availed not, however, either to cajole, or in any other way to bend to the purposes of the pope, the leaders of the Swiss reformation. Zwingle openly spoke of the pope as having endeavoured to buy him off by bribes, and seemed only the more animated to urge forward the great work he had undertaken; and he henceforward more decidedly than before denounced the papacy as Antichrist.[2] Pope's Briefs to Zwingle and others.

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 1, 2. Gerd. i. Doc. No. 22.

[2] Ru. i. 161. Mycon. p. 5, 6. M. Adam, i. 13. The pope's letter or brief is dated Jan. 23. This document is the "decisive testimony" on which Dr. Milner, in discussing

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Mark Reust.

The burgomaster of Zuric, here referred to, Mark Reust, was a person of very high character; so much so as to be honoured by Bullinger, who wrote an account of his life, with the title of "Father of his country." Though he had a son at this time a captain in the pope's body-guard, and had himself been specially favoured by Julius II, as well as by the reigning pontiff, he was a zealous and consistent supporter of the reformation.[1]

The Meeting,

At the time appointed the council assembled, and the parties summoned attended. The bishop of Constance was represented by five persons of eminence, at the head of whom were the chevalier d'Anweil, intendant of his household, and Faber, his grand vicar. All the clergy of the city and canton, with many others from more distant parts, were present, and a numerous company of other persons of various descriptions. The "Acts," or Proceedings of the meeting, translated into Latin, are given at length in the works of

the priority of Luther or Zwingle as a reformer, relies, as proving "how very far the latter must have been from any thing like a rupture with the papists even in the year 1523." Milner, v. 538. (1140.) I have before intimated that I could build no such conclusion upon it. And, after what we have seen, I trust it will be evident to the reader, that, had Dr. M. lived to go forward with his work, and consider the circumstances under which the brief of Adrian was issued, he would have perceived that it bore a very different character than he supposed, and warranted no such inferences as he drew from it. It seems, with the other letters which accompanied it, to have been a mere *ruse* to prevent or neutralize the threatened discussion: or, if it had any more serious character, and implied any hope on the part of Adrian that he might still gain Zwingle, it cannot, after the abundant proof which has appeared to the contrary, be admitted to shew that he still kept terms with the papists.

[1] J. H. Hottinger, vii. 633—638.

Zwingle;[1] and from them the following abstract is drawn. A. D. 1523.

The burgomaster Reust, who, as head of the council, presided, opened the meeting by an address in conformity with the summons by which it had been called. He adverted to the great differences which had arisen on the all-important subject of religion, and to the mutual recriminations of the two parties. He particularly noticed the heavy charges brought against Zwingle by his opponents; the degree in which the minds of the people were unsettled; and the desire the council felt to terminate these discords. For this purpose he invited all persons who were inclined to do it to speak their sentiments; specially desiring that, if any one thought he could, from the holy scriptures, convict the chief pastor (who was there to answer for himself,) of having taught erroneous and dangerous doctrine, he would not fail to make the attempt; pledging himself that the utmost freedom of speech that could reasonably be desired, should be allowed. and Discussion. Jan. 29.

The chevalier d'Anweil, as one of the bishop's representatives, then rose, and said, that the bishop, having heard with great pain of the discordant sentiments which prevailed in Zuric, in common with other parts of his diocese, had deputed him and his colleagues, in compliance with the invitation of the council, to

[1] Zuing. Op. 697—623. Gerdes (i. 279,) informs us, that in Fueslin's Collection of documents relative to the Reformation (ii. 81—150,) an account of this discussion is given, composed by a zealous Romanist, secretary to the canton of Lucerne, who was present; which, though savouring sufficiently of the partialities of the author, yet agrees substantially with the Acts here referred to.

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ascertain, on his (the bishop's) behalf, the real state of the case; and, in the most mild and friendly manner, to use their best endeavours to compose the existing differences.

Address of Zwingle:

Zwingle then addressed the assembly. He referred to the corruptions which he could not but see had overspread the church: "the light of the divine word had been obscured, and all but extinguished, by the traditions of men; so that there was nothing with which the far greater part of professed Christians were less acquainted than they were with the revealed will of God: they were taken up with a worship devised by men, a fictitious and false sanctity, an outward shew of religion, which they were taught to rely on as recommending them to God; while the only safety and consolation of mankind, derived from the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and not from our own merits or observances, were disregarded." He complained, that pious and good men, who endeavoured to instruct their brethren in the genuine gospel of Christ, drawn from his word through the grace of the Holy Spirit, were treated, not as faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, but as heretics, and enemies of the church. He then adverted to his own case. For five years past he had taught at Zuric; and his conscience bore him witness that he had aimed to teach nothing but the pure gospel of Christ, as delivered in the sacred scriptures: but how was he treated? denounced as a seducer, a liar, a heretic, a rebel. He wished therefore to give an account of his doctrine publicly, before the senate of his country, his diocesan, and the whole world, and to hear whatever could be alleged against it—thankful to be corrected if he were in error, but prepared

to maintain what he apprehended to be the truth. And all this he was ready to do any where else as well as at Zuric—at Constance itself, provided a proper safe-conduct were granted him. He concluded by referring to the articles which he had published, as containing a summary of his doctrines. A. D. 1523.

When Zwingle closed, Faber rose, and in an official and courtier-like speech lamented the hardships of which "his brother" Zwingle complained: doubted not that he had faithfully preached the gospel at Zuric—"for who, that had been ordained by God to the ministry of the word, could do otherwise than preach the doctrine of the holy gospels and of the apostle Paul?" He himself had done the same, and would ever do so, as far as the more special services confided to him by his master (the bishop) would permit. With reference to Zwingle's offer to appear at Constance, he could only assure him, that, should any thing call him to that city, he would find himself welcomed as a friend and a brother. For himself, he certainly had not now been sent to Zuric to impugn or obstruct the preaching of the gospel: but only, if any persons had taught what was contrary to it, or were thought to have done so, to be informed of the facts, and to do what in him lay to terminate the differences thence arising. If any wished to attack "ancient rites and ceremonies, or customs handed down to us through a long series of ages," he must explicitly avow that he should engage in no dispute with those persons: for, in his opinion, all such questions ought to be referred to a general council of the universal church—which they had now reason to suppose would be held in the course of the of Faber.

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present or the ensuing year.[1] To that assembly he earnestly recommended them to refer all points of that kind. If they were to be discussed in any other place than a general council, it ought at least to be in some renowned university, such as that of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain.—As Faber said this, Zwingle suggested, "Suppose at Erfurt or Wittemberg?" Faber replied, "By no means: they are too near to Luther."

Zwingle's reply.

Zwingle was not to be diverted from his purpose by the plausible address of Faber. He complained of the vicar general's speech as evasive, and calculated to overawe their minds by the plea of antiquity: but the question was, not what had been long practised or received, but what could stand the test of scripture. As to the hope of seeing a free and satisfactory council, it was vain to indulge it. A council could not be assembled within the time proposed: one that should be free, and governed by the word of God, would not be granted. The bishops, who would compose it, were not like the primitive bishops—they were more properly secular princes: and was nothing to be done for the relief of disquieted consciences till their deliberations should be finished? He doubted not that there were in the present assembly numerous individuals governed by the Spirit of God. Through the divine goodness, they had resident in Zuric more persons skilled in the original Greek and Hebrew scriptures, than could be found in any one of the universities which had been mentioned: and besides these there were now collected together many learned divines, many persons

[1] It was twenty-three years from this time before the council of Trent met, and forty-one before it terminated.

versed in the canon law, and many distinguished members of different universities: and on the table were laid the scriptures in the original languages: to them let the appeal be made. He urged, therefore, and called upon his fellow-citizens to demand, that an investigation should now take place. A.D. 1523.

A profound silence followed this address. After waiting some time, the burgomaster rose, and repeated the request, that any person who had aught to allege against Zwingle or his doctrines would come forward: but no one presented himself. Zwingle then solemnly, in the name of truth and Christian charity, called upon those, who had propagated charges against him, now to support them; declaring that if they continued silent he should challenge them by name.

Still no one opened his mouth. Zwingle repeated his threat: and, silence still continuing, James Carpentarius, or Wagner,[1] a minister of the canton, rose, and, reminding them of the recent mandate of the bishop, enjoining that they should retain all customs and ceremonies which had been observed in the church, remarked that Zwingle, in his published articles, had virtually and forcibly assailed this injunction, by denying the authority of human traditions; and yet no one now ventured to defend it, or to repel the attack. They must therefore think themselves at liberty to neglect the order that had been issued.—He adverted also pointedly to the case of Wyss,[2] the pastor of Visisbach, whom the diet assembled at Baden had sent to the bishop of Constance, and who was now in prison, Carpentarius's address. (Urban Wyss.)

[1] Ruchat, i. 165. [2] Above, p. 418.

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under the authority of that prelate. Either, he said, Wyss must be unjustly imprisoned, or Zwingle's propositions must be indefensible: and, if they would not have the former believed, they must demonstrate the latter. He wished, for his own part, to know to what conclusion he ought to come, and what course he was in future to pursue.

Faber

This called up the vicar general. He vindicated the bishop's edict; (though, he said, he had himself been absent on business when it was issued:) it was called for by the state of the times, when ignorant teachers preached to the people doctrines, which tended more to insubordination and sedition than to Christian edification. With respect to Wyss, he himself had had frequent conferences with him; and had found him, though a simple-minded, yet a very ignorant man: so much so that it would be insulting the present assembly to repeat to them some of his answers. He had induced him to retract certain of his errors. Particularly he had convinced him *from scripture* of his error in denying the invocation of "the mother of God and the saints:" and he hoped he would soon be set at liberty upon a general recantation.

commits himself.

Invocation of saints.

Here Faber had been guilty of a fatal oversight: he had made himself a party in the dispute, and that upon the most untenable of all grounds. Zwingle failed not instantly to avail himself of his declaration, that he had convinced Wyss "from scripture" of the doctrine of the invocation of the saints. Henceforth all the efforts of Zwingle and his friends were directed to draw from Faber a simple reference to the passages of holy writ, by which he had established so material a dogma

of the Romish creed. But their exertions had little success. Faber was so sensible of the false step he had made, that he scrupled not to say, "I see that that has happened to me which is said of the fool, He is entangled in his own words." Still he evaded the solicitations with which he was pressed; acknowledged his own want of acquaintance with the original languages of the scriptures; and launched out into copious disquisitions concerning fathers and councils, canons and customs. He admitted Jesus Christ to be the supreme Mediator: but others were "the lower steps of the ladder," by which he, for his part, was glad to ascend to that which was highest: "Others might believe what they would, but *he* firmly relied on the intercession of the Queen of heaven, the Virgin Mother of God."[1] A. D. 1523.

Zwingle denied that the usages of which they complained were of such antiquity as Faber represented; shewed how they were gradually introduced in later ages, so as to supersede the more ancient usages of the church; and withal told him, that they did not wish to draw from him a confession of his faith, but simply the mention of those passages of scripture by which he had convinced Wyss. On this point, however, he would not utter a syllable.

Some discussion was incidentally introduced of the prohibition of marriage to the clergy: at the close of which Hoffman of Schaffhausen rose, and observed, that he himself had been lately accused of heresy before the bishop of Constance, and driven from Lucerne partly for denying the doctrine of the invocation Hoffman.

[1] Folio 616.

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of the saints; and since he now heard the vicar general assert that that doctrine might be proved from scripture, he most earnestly conjured him to favour them by pointing out, as he had been so repeatedly requested to do, the passages by which it might be established. He himself would acknowledge this as a personal obligation, for he sincerely desired to be set right where he might be wrong. No answer however was obtained.

Leo Jude.

Leo Jude then stated, that he had been lately elected a minister of Zuric, and was about to take up his abode there:[1] that he purposed, by the grace of God assisting, to spare no pains in preaching to the people the truth of God's word; but that he must candidly confess, that he should shew little respect for the mass of ceremonies and usages, mere human inventions, as he esteemed them, which had been introduced into the worship of God, and often confounded with the very appointments of the gospel itself: that these had been impugned and exposed in the propositions of his friend, Zwingle; and no one was now found to vindicate them! Among these he at present must reckon the practice of invoking the saints, and seeking their intercession for us: he begged therefore to add his earnest solicitations to the many others which had been offered to the vicar general,[2] entreating that he would be pleased to point out the passages of scripture, which might prevent his teaching erroneous doctrine to the people.

Faber's proofs of the invocation of saints.

Faber now complained of the number of persons by whom, in succession, he was assailed; and, being again urged by Zwingle, who

[1] Above, p. 415.

[2] "Multum diuque rogatus."

begged him not thus to trifle with the meeting and with his own reputation, he proceeded to mention his scriptural proofs. They were the following: the words of the Virgin herself, "All generations shall call me blessed:" the address of Elizabeth to her, "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and the exclamation of the woman, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked."[1] Zwingle here interposed the remark, "We called for testimonies, not to the sanctity and dignity of Mary, but to the *intercession* and *invocation* of the saints:" and Faber, finding his authorities only provoke a smile, said, "If what I say is esteemed empty and foolish, I have only to sit down in silence:" which he accordingly did. A. D. 1523.

Another member of the bishop's deputation then spoke, and Zwingle answered him: after which Hoffman ventured to exhort the council manfully to support the preaching of the evangelical or reformed doctrine, since it appeared that no one present had any thing of weight to urge against it. This gave much offence to Faber.—Meyer[2] then rose and expressed himself to the following effect: "I cannot but ardently commend your wisdom, venerable lords, in that you have thought proper, by your public edicts, to countenance the preaching of the gospel in your territories: and I praise Almighty God who has inclined your hearts so to do. I also implore of him, that he will never suffer you to draw back from your pious and holy purpose; but that he will rather confirm your minds with such Concluding addresses of Hoffman and Meyer.

[1] Fo. 617.

[2] Ruchat, i. 169.

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consolation, strength, and resolution, that no earthly powers, whether popes or emperors, may ever overawe you; and that, at this present time, you may come to such a conclusion as shall advance the true worship of God, and conduce to your own eternal honour. Never be moved by the consideration that, compared with many surrounding nations, you are but a feeble state; but rather reflect, that God commonly chooses the weak and feeble, by whom to communicate to the world the knowledge of his truth and will, while he hides it from the wise and prudent. Fear not them, therefore, who can kill the body, but cannot hurt the soul.—Neither let it disturb you, that the whole host of popes, prelates, and sophisters fiercely oppose the truth: for it is the will and purpose of God to expose the folly of the wise in this world, and to promulgate his gospel by means of those who are esteemed foolish. Hold fast then the word of God: and it shall be my part earnestly to commend your zeal to the imitation of the church at Berne."[1]

Nothing else of importance passed: and the burgomaster, having renewed the invitation to all persons to speak, who had any thing to offer relating to the present inquiry, and no one presenting himself, dismissed the assembly, with the exception of the members of the council. These remained, and deliberated on the resolution to which they should come; which, having been agreed upon, was communicated to the whole company, assembled again in the afternoon for the purpose, in a decree to the following effect: "That, whereas it had been arranged a year ago with the representa-

Decree of the Council.

[1] Fo. 618 (b).

tives of the bishop of Constance, that he should convene the clergy of his diocese to consider of some settlement of the controversies which had arisen on the subject of religion, and to point out the course which might be most safely adopted, but nothing had yet been done in that behalf—while in the mean time the controversies only increased; this being the case, the burgomaster, council, and people of Zuric had determined to hold the present meeting, which was attended by the deputies of the bishop, and the clergy of this and the neighbouring districts, for the purpose of hearing what those had to allege, who mutually charged each other with error and heresy: That since no one had come forward to substantiate any accusation against their preacher and antistes, Ulric Zwingle—though numbers had previously reproached him as a heretic, and though he had submitted his doctrine to examination in propositions or articles duly published, and had challenged any one to convict him of error—therefore the said burgomaster, council, and people of Zuric decreed and confirmed, that the said Ulric Zwingle should go on to declare and preach the holy doctrine of the gospel, and the oracles of the word of God, as he had heretofore done; and that all persons should abstain from criminating one another as heretics and offenders, on pain of such penalties as should shew the sense which the government of the country entertained of their misconduct. Dated at Zuric, 29 January, 1523."

A. D. 1523.

On hearing the decree Zwingle rose, and in an act of devotion said, "We give thanks to thee, O Lord, who willest that thy most holy word should reign alike in heaven and in

Zwingle on the Decree.

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earth." Then, addressing himself to the council: "And on you, venerable lords, the same Lord of all will bestow that strength and determination of mind, which will be necessary for supporting and advancing the doctrine of the divine word throughout your territories: and doubt not that the Lord God will abundantly reward this your present act. Amen."

Faber,

Faber made no direct remark on the decree: but he pledged himself to prove to the most learned universities, that many things had passed that day contrary to the ancient and approved rules of the church, the constitutions and decrees of the holy pontiffs and fathers, and the practice of the whole Christian world: and having, he said, since the meeting in the forenoon, read, for the first time, the Articles of Zwingle, he engaged to demonstrate the same things concerning them. Zwingle welcomed the pledge, as "what he had been longing to hear given."

and Zwingle,

A public conversation of some length then followed between Faber and Zwingle, in which the former, now when the business was terminated, began to quote scripture in proof of his tenets; and, speaking on the favourite doctrine of the Romish church, the necessity of a judge

on a judge of controversies.

authoritatively to decide in matters of controversy, he addressed to Zwingle the question, intended no doubt to be embarrassing, considering in what place, and in whose presence, it was put, "Would he agree to refer the points in dispute to the council of Zuric as judges?" Zwingle, who was not to be taken by surprise, replied, "In external things, the affairs of this world, I readily admit the necessity of a judge whose decision shall be final, and there is none that I would prefer to the lords of Zuric: but,

in questions which concern the wisdom and truth of God, I can admit none to decide but the word of God himself, and the Spirit speaking by that word." He evidently implied, that each man, having the testimonies of God's word brought before him, must follow the convictions of his own conscience as to the result of those testimonies: and no further decision than this was allowed in the present, or in any of the discussions that followed.—A parish priest here asked, "What was to be done by a clergyman, whose benefice was so small as not to admit of his purchasing a New Testament?"—avowing that this was his own case. Such a question, so proposed, must be understood to imply, what was the undoubted fact, that many of the clergy were destitute of the scriptures even of the New Testament. A. D. 1523.

At the close, Faber shocked the meeting, and incurred the marked rebuke of Zwingle, by asking, with indecent levity, "How it could be proved from the scriptures alone, that a man might not marry his own daughter?"[1] and observing, that "had the scriptures never been given, we yet might have lived together on peaceable and friendly terms!"[2]

Justification of Zwingle.

The adherents of Rome, I presume, would pretend that this whole affair of the disputation was nothing more, than an artful contrivance of Zwingle's to draw attention and give popularity to his cause, and, perhaps it will be added, to entrap and insult the representatives of his diocesan. But that it should have this result

[1] Zwingle very properly replied, that, marriage in more remote degrees of consanguinity being prohibited, much more was it in the very first degree.

[2] Acta, ubi supra. J. H. Hott. vii. 628—632. Ru. i. 157—173. Gerd. i. 278—280. Du Pin, vi 84—87.

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could not have arisen, much less have been foreseen, except from the badness of the cause which his opponents had to maintain, or from their mismanagement of it. But for one or both of these reasons, the event might have been the very reverse of what is assumed in this argument. It can never be shewn, that Zwingle lay under no necessity of publicly vindicating himself from the aspersions cast upon both his character and his doctrines: or that he was not goaded into this measure, as he professes himself to have been, for that purpose.—Nor can it be said, that he did not bring the case fairly to issue. The meeting was publicly proclaimed to all the world, and none were excluded from it; umpires of unimpeachable character and authority presided; competent advocates were, or might have been, present on one side as well as on the other; every encouragement was given, and sufficiently pointed challenges were addressed, to the accusers of the reformer to prefer their charges; no complaint of unfair dealing was or could be alleged: yet the attempt was scarcely made to defend the papal doctrines, or to impugn those which were opposed to them—though the consequences of such omission, both to the one side and to the other, must have been obvious. —As to insulting the bishop through his representatives; when the discussion was proposed by Zwingle and appointed by the government of Zuric, it must have been deemed improbable, rather than the contrary, that they should be present. Faber, indeed, and his colleagues could not be expected to take the part of disputants; and, in the complaints urged against them for not doing this by some of the historians, I conceive they have not been fairly treated:

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they must be considered rather as assessors with the council in hearing the cause, than as parties committed in it: but surely it shewed an extraordinary sense of weakness on that side of the question, that none could be found to maintain it against the reformers.—If the whole were an artifice of Zwingle's, how came it to escape the detection of his many, and powerful, and sagacious adversaries? Why was he suffered so completely to out-general the bishop, the papacy, and all its adherents?

Remarks on the Decree,

The decree promulgated by the council must not pass without a remark. It may be considered as a model of what is to be approved on such an occasion. It offers no shadow of violence to any man's conscience: it ordains no pains, no penalties on a religious account. No penalties at all are enacted, except for a breach of the peace, or what directly tends to break it: and these are to be awarded with an equal hand to both parties alike. Zwingle is merely to be protected in going on to preach the word of God as he had heretofore done: by that word he is to defend himself, and by it he is to stand or fall.[1]

and on the Disputation

Indeed the whole scene before us must be acknowledged to be striking and extraordinary. The supreme power of the state, and that in times yet papal, convoking such an assembly; itself presiding at the religious discussion, and taking so great interest in the question at issue; yet exercising such perfect abstinence

[1] Let it not be thought that I here express sentiments unfavourable to ecclesiastical establishments. Zwingle lived and laboured under such an establishment, which provided instruction for the people, and maintenance for their instructors. The conduct of the government towards those who *differed* from him, and from it, is the only subject here under consideration.

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from all authoritative interference with religion, as the decree manifests: all this seems nearly without parallel.

Little discussion, it is true, took place on this occasion—evidently for no other reason but because the papal advocates dared not enter into debate: yet it was impossible that the proceeding should not be attended with important consequences. The publicity of the transaction; the number and respectability of the parties who attended; the loud and repeated calls made, but without effect, upon the adversaries of the reformation to avow and defend their opinions; the exclusive appeal made to the authority of scripture, on the one side, and declined by the other: these and numerous other obvious facts could not but make a strong impression, which the persons who had been present would, on their return home, propagate even to distant parts. Popery, it was here clearly ascertained, had no foundation in scripture to stand upon; nothing, which could bear examination, to be urged in its support. Henceforward the reformation, as far at least as Zuric was concerned, was not the mere work of individuals, connived at but not sanctioned; Zwingle was expressly encouraged to proceed in his work, with the avowed countenance of the state.

Animosity of the Roman Catholics.

But, proportioned to the confirmation which these events gave to the reformed, was the vexation which they occasioned to their opponents. Faber, chagrined as might have been expected, wrote to a friend, "You expect news from me: I have none to send you which may be relied on, except that there is another Luther rising up at Zuric, who is more formidable than the other in proportion as the

character of the people is more untractable. Against him I am compelled, whether I will or not, and indeed sorely against my will, to draw my pen—as you will shortly see in a book in which I prove the mass to be a sacrifice."[1] He demanded of Zwingle to explain his sixty-seven Articles more at large, (as the reformer had expressed his intention of doing,) that he might know how to meet them. But this only tended still further to hurt his cause, as it led Zwingle to publish the copious "Exposition of the Articles," which occupies the first place in his printed works, and Faber never gave his promised answer to them.[2] The bishop of Constance complained bitterly of the proceedings at Zuric to the cantons at large: and he and the pope's legate, Ennius, are said to have employed their emissaries to take off Zwingle, could the opportunity have been found of doing it without too great a risk.[3] Incessant calumnies were spread against the reformer; and he was formally accused to the cantons assembled at Baden. The charge there alleged against him was, that he had publicly said that the Swiss 'sold the blood of Christian people, and ate their flesh!' This absurd accusation arose from the form in which, alluding to the prosecution of people for eating flesh in lent, he had put his censure of the hired military services. He justified himself in a printed paper addressed to the diet again assembled at Berne; in which he renewed the explanation of his doctrines, and intreated the Cantons not to obstruct the preaching of the gospel. They however ordered, that

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July.

[1] J. H. Hott. vi. 229.
[2] Zuing. Op. fo. 3—109. Ru. i. 173. Gerd. i. 287.
[3] Ru. i. 173. Gerd. i. 285, 287.

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he should be seized wherever he could be found.[1]—Alluding to the dangers which he was told surrounded him after the disputation of Zuric, he writes to Steiner of Zug, April 14th, "If I had been to be frighted by plots formed against me, I should never have taken up the office of preaching the gospel in the manner I have done. I say this, not to boast myself, but to set your mind at ease respecting me."[2]

Decree of Berne. June 15.

In Berne we may probably trace the effect of the discussion of Zuric. The supreme council, a few months after, taking into consideration the height to which controversy was carried—the preachers undertaking to confute one another from the pulpit, and the minds of the people being in consequence much agitated—issued an edict, enjoining that "the ministers, both in town and country, should preach the gospel freely, fully, and clearly, but should take care to deliver nothing which they did not feel well assured that they could prove from the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament."[3] This was, in fact, recognizing the grand principle of the reformation; and must have been felt, both by one party and the other, to be a measure of great importance in that age; while it was, at the same time, so general and so temperate, that none could reasonably complain of it.

This was considered as the first public step taken at Berne towards the reformation, which was in the event so succesfully established there. It was soon followed by others. Haller having held a conference on the subject of religion

[1] Ru. i. 175-6. Gerd. i. 288. Zuing. Op. i. 147, 148.
[2] Œc. et Z. Epist. 184 (b).
[3] Ru. i. 176-7. Gerd. ii. 238.

with a nun of a celebrated convent at Berne, an order was issued, in the first heat of the irritation which the circumstance occasioned, that he and all the preachers of his party should be banished: but his friends in the council had sufficient influence to procure the revocation of this order, and the substitution of an injunction to observe the late edict.[1] A. D. 1523.

Soon after this the nuns of the wealthy abbey of Kunigsfeld, all of them ladies of quality, having read some of the writings of Luther and Zwingle, were led to consider themselves as the "unhappy prisoners" of a dark and antiscriptural superstition; and in consequence applied to the council, "for the love of God and the salvation of their souls," to release them from their confinement: and, after considerable delay, and repeated attempts made to divest them of "their Lutheran fancies," they succeeded in the object of their application; most of them quitted the abbey, (which in the year 1529 was converted into an infirmary,) and several of them married. The marriage of one of them with the guardian of the abbey, and that of another with a citizen of rank, publicly celebrated in the cathedral at Berne, made a strong impression on the minds of the inhabitants concerning the new order of things which was obtaining establishment.[2] Further proceedings there. 1524.

In the mean time the bishop of Lausanne, within whose diocese the town of Berne was situated, took vigorous measures to repress the rising heresy. He convoked the clergy of his Opposition of the bishop of Lausanne.

[1] Ru. i. 176—178.

[2] Ib. 178—183. Some at least of the Swiss governments had great power both over the monastic institutions and the clergy, even before the reformation. Gerdes, i. 287 (a).

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diocese at large, and earnestly exhorted them to oppose the spread of "the Lutheran heresy;" and began to adopt means for the expulsion of all persons infected with it. The government, however, jealous lest, under the pretence of exercising spiritual jurisdiction, he should encroach upon the rights and privileges of themselves and their subjects, would not suffer him to execute his designs within their extensive jurisdiction. They even refused to receive him into their town "as a prince:" "if he would come simply as a bishop, and, laying aside the purple, preach the gospel to them, they would be ready to welcome him; but if he came to tyrannise over his fellow-pastors, it would be at his peril that he appeared among them."[1] In these transactions the foundation seems to have been first laid of that animosity which the bishop conceived against the Bernese, and which ultimately deprived him of his dignity.—But, independently of this reasonable jealousy for their civil liberties and privileges, we are assured that the number of those who ardently thirsted for the pure word of God, now greatly increased at Berne: and among them is particularly mentioned Nicholas de Watville, provost of the cathedral, and son of the late advoyer, James de Watville, who had been a great opposer of the reformation.[2]

Progress of reformed principles at Basle;

At Basle also reformed principles made great progress; which was only accelerated by the means employed to check it. It was at this time that Erasmus wrote to his correspondents, that "at Basle one might print any thing in

[1] This may explain Faber's description of the Swiss, a few pages back, as an "untractable" people: "austerior."

[2] Ru. i. 186-7. Gerd. ii. 255.

favour of Luther, while it was scarcely safe even to write in favour of the pope." The provincial of the order of which Pellican was guardian at Basle, now visiting that city, and hearing of the Lutheran principles both of him, of his deputy Kreis, and of Luthard, concerted measures for the removal of all the three: but, this coming to the knowledge of the council, they expelled him the city, and with him two of the professors of divinity, who had concurred in his plans: and they advanced Œcolampadius and Pellican to the chairs in the university which were thus vacated. Œcolampadius was soon after admitted to the curacy of S. Martin's church, the incumbent of which was old and infirm; and he laboured so indefatigably in his double employ, as pastor and professor, that Zwingle felt it necessary to write to him to moderate his exertions, lest he should destroy his health.[1] Where zeal and opportunity concur—where the spiritual field is seen "white unto the harvest," and the love of Christ and of souls "constrains" the labourers, it is not easy for them to confine their exertions within those bounds which prudence, and even duty may require. A.D. 1523.

At Schaffhausen also the course of things was favourable. Here indeed the little council, which is nearly equivalent to the executive power of the state, continued opposed to the reformation; but the grand council, of which the former was but a part, and the generality also of the citizens, were well disposed to it. Hoffmeister had been forbidden to preach publicly, but he was indefatigable in instructing the people in private; and his success was and Schaffhausen.

[1] Mel. Ad. i. 24. Ru. i. 189. Gerd. ii. 256-7.

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great. So widely had his principles spread, that the Roman-catholic processions at the great festivals were suppressed, several priests married, and a strong disposition was manifested to remove the images from the churches.[1]

Lucerne.

At Lucerne, indeed, the case was different. All the preachers of the reformed doctrine had been driven away, and severe ordinances were published against the marriage of the clergy, and the dissemination of "Lutheran" principles. The diet of the cantons also, assembled at Baden, adopted other severe measures in addition to those which we have already noticed. They received accusations against John Broetlin and John Hagner, both of them priests of the county of Sargans: and the former, for preaching against the mass, and allowing the eating of meat in lent, was thrown into prison; and the latter, for having married, was compelled to fly his country.[2]

Zuric.

But it was at Zuric that the greatest progress still continued to be made. Gregory Luti, pastor of Richtensvyl, having preached against the popish ceremonies and the pride of the ecclesiastics, was dismissed from his situation by the administrator of the demesnes of the knights of [S. John of] Jerusalem. He appealed to the government of Zuric, but to his astonishment was condemned by the senate, or little council, to imprisonment and exile. Zwingle, however, censured the conduct of the senate from the pulpit; and the grand council reviewed and annulled the decision; and ordered all causes affecting religion to be henceforth brought only before themselves.[3] Greater reforms followed.

[1] Ru. i. 191. [2] Ib. 190, 192. [3] Ib. 187-8.

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Regulation of the cathedral church.

The cathedral of Zuric had a chapter of twenty-four canons, with thirty-six chaplains, a pastor of the parish, and his curate. As the canons in general lived in much irregularity, and even vicious indulgence, those who paid them their tithes had long done it with great reluctance, thinking it a heavy expence incurred rather to the detriment of the public than to its advantage. Much dissatisfaction was also occasioned by the exactions made for the administration of the sacraments, the performance of funeral rites, and other necessary services. These subjects were now brought under the notice of the council. The chapter having given good proof of their being legally intitled to their tithes, the council confirmed their claim: but they appointed a commission of three of their own members and four canons to remedy abuses. The commissioners framed divers excellent regulations, which were sanctioned and published, and could not fail to give much content, and produce much good to the community. By these regulations it was enacted, that no charges should in future be made for the administration of the sacraments, the burial of the dead, and other offices: that a number of superfluous clergy attached to the chapter should be removed, and only such retained as were necessary for duly conducting the service: that, after the demise of the present prebendaries, their prebends should be applied to the support of learned professors, to teach the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; and to the providing of more liberal stipends for the masters of the school; in order that the youth of the country might be better educated: that the pastors should reside in their parishes, that they

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might properly tend their flocks: that the chapter should take care to supply good and competent ministers, to perform the service in the country churches dependent upon them: that the surplus of the tithes and other revenues should be employed in the relief of the poor, under the direction of two members of the council and two of the chapter. In fine, four administrators were appointed, taken from the great and little councils, to superintend the management of the temporalities of the chapter. The right of the council to introduce these changes is a question that belongs not to us: it does not appear that it was questioned at the time:[1] their general wisdom and even moderation can hardly be disputed: but by them the oppressive yoke which the church had imposed on the community was in a good measure broken. At the same time the use of a foreign language in the services of the church was ordered to be discontinued.[2]

The Mass, and Images.

The next subjects which came under discussion were the mass and the use of images. Zwingle had lately published an Essay on the canon of the mass, or the prayers used in

August.

the consecration and administration. It is a spirited performance, addressed to his old friend and patron, Geroldseck, administrator of Einsidlin. In it he shews that the received canon was "full of ignorance, puerilities, and impiety; that it had not been composed at any one time, but patched together, and changed at various periods; that it was deformed by grievous errors and gross superstition; and

[1] The remark quoted from Gerdes, above, p. 453, note, is particularly applied to Zuric.

[2] Ruchat, i. 193—195.

ought therefore to be abolished.[1] To the influence of this work we may in great measure ascribe it, that it was now commonly argued, that the mass was no sacrifice, and that, in its present form at least, it ought to be discontinued. A. D. 1523.

Disorderly act of N. Hottinger.

The subject of images gave occasion to some disorders. Certain citizens, at the head of whom was Nicholas Hottinger, a man possessed of considerable religious information, though occupying no higher a station than that of a shoemaker, took upon them to overturn a large crucifix erected in a public situation. For this offence Hottinger and some of his associates were committed to prison. The preachers from the pulpit justified the demolition of the idol, and seem to have been too much disposed to vindicate the gross irregularity of private individuals, and those of the lower class, taking upon them forcibly to make public changes, and that even by means of tumult and violence. The city was much divided upon the subject; and the magistrates again determined to submit the question to a discussion—in the mean time retaining the prisoners in custody. And thus was introduced the second disputation of Zuric.[2]

Second Disputation of Zuric.

The day fixed for this discussion was Monday the 26th of October, 1523; and the subjects were Images and the Mass—whether they could be supported from the sacred scriptures or not. The bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire (the capital of the Grisons,) were invited to be present, and all the Swiss cantons to send their deputies and the most learned of their

Oct. 26.

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 175—191. Gerd. i. 289.
[2] Ruchat, i. 195-6.

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clergy; but the bishops had no inclination to repeat the experiment tried on the late occasion, and Schaffhausen alone, among the cantons, complied with the call. The town of S. Gallen sent its burgomaster, Vadian, and Benedict Burgawer, its chief pastor.

The Meeting.

At the time appointed about nine hundred persons,[1] including the grand council of Two Hundred, assembled in the senate house of Zuric; and among them three hundred and fifty ecclesiastics. The burgomaster Reust opened the meeting, and in the name of the council requested Joachim Vadian of S. Gallen,

Presidents.

Sebastian Hoffman of Schaffhausen, and Christopher Schappeler of Memmingen,[2] to act as presidents; to preserve order, to hold the disputants to the rule of appealing only to the scriptures, and to secure to every one a fair hearing. Zwingle and Leo Jude were also specially appointed to defend their side of the question. After some demur, the presidents nominated accepted the office; the decree by which the meeting had been called was read;

Zwingle's opening.

and Zwingle was desired to commence the proceedings; which he did by reminding the assembly of the promise of Christ, that

[1] Ruchat and Gerdes.—Some say "six hundred, more or less."

[2] Schappeler, who is also sometimes called Sertorius, or Sartorius, was a native of S. Gallen. He had been stationed since the year 1513 at Memmingen, in Suabia, (one of the cities which first merited the name of *protestant*, by protesting against the decree of the diet of Spire, in 1529,) and is considered as the reformer of that city. He suffered considerable persecution, especially from his diocesan, the bishop of Augsburg; and with some difficulty, though favoured by the magistrates and citizens, escaped with his life from Memmingen, and retired to his native town of S. Gallen, in 1525. There he laboured faithfully till his death in 1551. Gerdes, ii. 327—333.

"wherever two or three were gathered together in his name he would be in the midst of them, and grant them their petitions." The place, he said, was too much crowded to admit of their conveniently kneeling down for prayer, but he besought all present to lift up their hearts to God, beseeching him "to draw to himself all such as had hitherto rebelled against his word; to enlighten those who were in ignorance; and to lead back into the right way those who had been seduced from it." A. D. 1523.

The Acts of this meeting, as well as those of the former, are appended to the Works of Zwingle;[1] and, as a more regular discussion now took place than on the former occasion; as we are furnished with such authentic information concerning the proceedings; and as those proceedings were both interesting and important; I shall again present the reader with an abstract of them: though in no future instance of the kind, one only excepted, shall I think it needful to enter into such detail.

Zwingle on the Church.

After the exhortation to prayer just recited, Zwingle begged, before the first proposition, concerning images, was introduced, to premise a few remarks on the subject of the church—what was to be understood by that term; since on that, in fact, depended the right and authority of their present proceedings; and it had been objected to their former meeting, that it was not lawful for assemblies so constituted at all to enter into the examination of such questions. He then spoke of the catholic, or universal church of Christ, consisting of all true believers in all ages and places. In this sense, the church never had been nor ever

[1] Zuing. Op. ii. fo. 623—646.

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would be *visible*, or subjected to the discrimination of any created eye, till all should meet before their judge at the last day. Next he spoke of particular churches, such as those of Ephesus, of Corinth, or of Galatia; which that of Zuric[1] resembled, and which, he contended, had a right to assemble and to discuss matters relating to their faith and their common welfare. But he rejected the exorbitant claims of the church of Rome, which asserted that nothing was valid in the whole Christian world, but what was done with her sanction. Particularly he condemned the restriction of the term, 'the church,' to a convention consisting of the pope, cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastics exclusively.—He then paused; and all, who had any thing to object to the positions which he had laid down, were invited to express their sentiments. Conrad Hoffman, a canon of Zuric, was the only person who presented himself: but, as he spoke only of the pope's bull, the emperor's edict, the canons, and the impropriety of all such discussions as the present, without even pretending to adduce any scriptural authority for what he said, he was not allowed to proceed.

Leo Jude on Images.

Leo Jude then brought forward the proposition, "That images are forbidden by the word of God; and that Christians ought not to make them, set them up, or pay them any honour;"[2] and supported it by various scriptural proofs.—But here it may be observed, that I should have understood both him, and other persons who took part in the discussion

[1] The church of Zuric, as we must suppose also of some of the others here referred to, was not comprised in a single congregation. Zwingle did not even limit his view to the *city* of Zuric.

[2] Ruchat, i. 198.

on his side, to go the length of denying the lawfulness of making pictures or statues altogether, and not merely of making them for religious purposes, had I not subsequently found Zwingle expressly disclaiming such a sentiment. After he had spoken, repeated calls were made on those, who did not concur in his doctrines, (of whom many had previously accused and reviled the reformers on this very subject,) to oppose the proposition. But only the most trifling opposition was offered—such as arguing that the second commandment referred to the idols of the heathen alone; that Moses had been commanded to make the brazen serpent and the figures of the cherubim; and that images might help to excite our pious feelings. To the instances cited from scripture Leo replied, that they were exceptions expressly made by God himself from the general rule which he had laid down, and that the figures referred to were not appointed to receive any religious worship or even veneration. To the closing remark Zwingle returned the answer which he had frequent occasion to give, "It is all well, if you can adduce scripture for it: but the inquiry is, not what may seem to you to be fit and advantageous, but what the word of God teaches." [9] A. D. 1523.

The commendator of Kusnacht (Conrad Schmidt) then, in a long allegorical speech, shewed, that all our reliance is to be placed on Christ alone. "From Him," he piously and finely said, "let all sinners seek grace—all the blind, sight—all the destitute, aid—all the afflicted, comfort—all the condemned, redemption—all the foolish, wisdom." "But, instead of this," he proceeded, "men have substituted saints, and the images of saints, in Christ's The commendator of Kusnacht.

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place."—He argued, however, that men's minds must be enlightened, before that on which they had been accustomed erroneously to rely could properly be torn from them.—Hoffman, one of the presidents, here observed, that the speaker was going into an ulterior question, namely the course that should be pursued, in case it were proved that the use of images is forbidden by the scriptures: but the latter was the question at present before them. Zwingle then added some able remarks on the latter part of the commendator's speech—shewing what *had* been done to enlighten men's minds, and how far the rule of "not giving offence" applied to the case before them. The minds of the majority, he contended, *were* enlightened; and they must not wait till no dissenting voice should be heard, before they abolished that which the scriptures manifestly condemned.—Schmidt declared himself satisfied.

Several of those who had most openly reproached the reformers were then called upon, by name, to reply to the arguments which had been adduced, and to maintain their own side of the question. Some of them confessed that they had nothing to offer, and some still answered by scoffs. The prior of the Augustins produced a quotation from the canon law. Zwingle in return shewed from that law itself[1] that the scriptures alone were to be relied on. The monk, thus beaten with his own weapons, replied, that in all cases of difficulty we were to have recourse to the apostolic chair. "The pope," said he, "has decided, and I abide by his decisions.

[1] "Distinc. 9. Can. *Ego solis.*"

I leave it to others *to argue*." The senior physician of the city brought forward the old distinction of the different kinds of worship or service, latria, doulia, and hyperdoulia;[1] but Zwingle had already shewn that the Hebrew word, rendered *worship*, or *serve*, included every kind and degree of homage or veneration. A. D. 1523.

The president Hoffman then rising returned thanks to God for the clear evidence of his word, upon the question which had been considered, and for the victory which his truth had manifestly obtained that day: and he besought the magistrates to liberate the persons under confinement for overthrowing the crucifix.—This terminated the proceedings of the first day.

Zwingle on the sacrifice of the mass;

The following day Zwingle introduced the second proposition, "That the mass is not a sacrifice; and that the eucharist is celebrated in a manner quite different from the institution of the Saviour."[1] As so much difficulty had been found in inducing the opponents of the reformation to come forward, a different course was now adopted than on the preceding day, the principal persons in each distinct rank of the clergy being successively invited by name to deliver their sentiments, whether for or against the proposition. The abbots and those who ranked with them were first called upon; and, at the head of them, Wolfgang Joner, abbot of Cappel, who declared himself fully satisfied with both the propositions, and determined to defend them wherever the occasion might be presented. The abbot of Stein[2] said, he would offer nothing against them. Felix Liberius remarked, that the ancients had called the mass *a sacrifice*. Zwingle admitted

[1] Ruchat, i. 200. [2] Ib. 199.

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that they had done so, but manifestly in a different sense than was supposed—not as being itself a sacrifice every time it was celebrated, but as a *commemoration* of the sacrifice which Christ offered when he died on the cross.[1]—Brenwald,[2] provost of Embrach, concurred in the sentiments of the abbot of Cappel. The commendator of Kusnacht agreed with the doctrine laid down in the proposition, but thought that too harsh language had been used in speaking against the mass—which had stumbled many. This gave occasion to Zwingle to deliver some sentiments which may well deserve to be recorded. He justified the strong condemnation both of the mass and of monastic institutions: "Yet," he said, "I wish that all ministers would employ their zeal in preaching Christ, that, through the prevalence of his word, *all* errors and abuses might be undermined and fall: for I know, and I know it with pain, that some have preached against particular errors with an indecorum which is neither useful nor right. Some retain nothing of sermons which they hear from me but strong detached expressions which I happen to use upon such subjects; and many can recite nothing from the writings of Luther but the cutting language, which, incited by his fervent zeal for God and religion, he sometimes employs; while the pure and holy spirit, and ardent faith, with which he embraces the truth and word of God, have few imitators.—I will not deny that I may sometimes have been severe in the pulpit: but I am bold to affirm, that I have given just cause of offence to no one on any private ground: and you are not ignorant how forbearing I was

and on harsh and violent language.

[1] Fo. 634, 639. [2] Ru. i. 200.

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at first towards my hearers on the subject of the intercession of the saints. I spoke only to this effect: 'Do you carry your complaints where you think proper: for my part, I will carry mine only to God. My hope (in *him*) has certainty to go upon: your's (in the saints) is uncertain.' And this forbearance I continued to use, till the doctrine of the intercession and invocation of the saints was beaten down by the power of God's word, which I taught, *instant in season, out of season!* From my inmost soul, therefore, I wish all to be anxious to build up, rather than to throw down; to preach the word of God boldly, and to pronounce concerning particular (doctrines or practices) as God has taught them (in his word)."—Is it possible not to do homage to the united integrity and piety of the man who speaks in this manner, and that in such circumstances?

Stainly's arguments for the sacrifice of the mass.

The only instance, in which an attempt was made to maintain a regular argument in favour of the Roman-catholic doctrine, was on the part of Martin Stainly, a preacher at Schaffhausen: and the ample justice which appears to be done to him in the Acts might well furnish a presumption of their general fairness, were any disposed to call it in question. He, on being called upon, addressed the meeting at great length. He commenced by speaking, with much seriousness and apparent feeling, of the corruption of mankind, and the imperfection of even their best works; which is such that "every believer, and by consequence the whole Christian church, while living in this world, may say, as S. Paul says of himself, *So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.*" He

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then quoted two passages of scripture, which speak of persons offering to God "a pure offering," and "a free will offering:" Malachi i. 11, and Deuteronomy xvi: the former of which (though Zwingle pronounced otherwise,) is probably to be referred to the "spiritual worship" of true Christians; and the other evidently relates to the offerings of the Jews. But Stainly argued, that these descriptions of "a free-will offering," and "a pure offering," could not be applied to any offerings of mere men, whether in devoting *themselves* to God, or in presenting their imperfect *worship* to him: and hence he would have inferred that both the passages, and particularly that of Malachi, must be considered as predicting or prefiguring the continual offering of the perfect sacrifice of Christ in the mass.

This was his first argument. His next was the same as is to this day, however frivolously, attempted to be drawn by the Roman catholics from Melchizedek's having *offered*, as they pretend, the bread and wine which he brought out to Abraham: on account of which offering it is, according to their interpretation, that he typified Christ, presenting his body and blood to God for us under the species of bread and wine. And, as Christ remains "a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek," so (say they,) this sacrifice is daily and perpetually repeated.

A third argument he founded on Christ's promises of giving the Holy Spirit to abide with his church for ever, as its comforter and teacher, and thus to preserve it from error—into which, if any particular pastors fell, the sheep "would not hear their voice." But for ages, he observed, the whole church had

followed those who taught that the mass was a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ. It must therefore be concluded that this, especially seeing it was so great and fundamental a point, was not an error. A. D. 1523.

His last argument seems to rest on the *assumption* of the real corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist: that, as the same body, blood, and whole person of Christ, which hung upon the cross, were present in the sacrament, there must be the same sacrifice offered in the one case as in the other.—He concluded with disclaiming his having any personal end to answer, in what he thus professed, and attempted to maintain. He aimed, he said, at nothing but Christian unity, and love among brethren.

He was answered partly by Leo Jude and partly by Zwingle; both of whom gave him credit for a sincere zeal for what he esteemed to be the truth. Leo first asked him, whether, supposing the two passages from Malachi and Deuteronomy to refer, as he seemed to assume that they did, to sincere Christians, he understood them to apply to all such characters, or only to some of them? Stainly at first replied, To all. On which Leo observed, that then they could not at all serve his purpose; for none but priests could offer the sacrifice of the mass, to which he would refer them. Stainly then retracted his answer, and said, To some only. To which Leo replied, that the words would not admit of such a restriction: and besides, he added, how could priests, being themselves imperfect men, offer "a pure-offering," which his opponent had asserted could be done by no mortal man, because of the continual sinfulness of all men? He Leo Jude in reply.

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then proceeded to unfold to him (what the case of this apparently conscientious and humble-minded papist seemed especially to require,) the great principle of the gospel, that we are all sinners, polluted and impure through the corruption of nature which has descended to us from our fallen first parents; but that from this disease and depravity of nature, and the sin and condemnation which necessarily accompany it, Christ delivers us: that believers in him stand before God accepted as pure and holy through Him, who "of God is made unto them wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption:" that when, therefore, we are thus purified by faith in Christ, our offerings also become pure and holy in the sight of God. On this ground, even our imperfect services are "a pure offering," acceptable to God through Jesus Christ: but, in any other way, even the offering of Christ's body and blood, made by us, (were that possible,) must be an impure one, *viewed with reference to the offerer*. Christ himself alone could offer it so as to atone for sins: and the apostle has declared that he offered it "once for all," that is, never to be repeated.[1] —Here again is the essential doctrine of the gospel, restored at the reformation, and applied to its true purpose, the relief of consciences burdened with the sense of guilt and depravity.

Zwingle then offered what he conceived to be the true sense of the passages, confining, as we have intimated, that of Malachi, as well as that in Deuteronomy, to the Jews. After which Leo proceeded to Stainly's other arguments. He observed, that Melchizedek was

(Melchizedek's sacrifice.)

[1] Ἐφάπαξ.

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never at all said to have *offered* the bread and wine, but only to have *brought* them forth to Abraham; and that the points in which the apostle finds the parallel between him and Christ are, not this imaginary offering of bread and wine (to which in fact he never once alludes,) but, 1. His name, and the name of his city, signifying "king of righteousness," and king of peace:"[1] 2. That he was "without father, without mother, without (priestly) descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," but "abiding a priest continually," or "for ever." Not that all this was literally true of Melchizedek, but that his parentage and his death, the commencement and the termination of his priesthood, were unrecorded, and alike unknown to us. He added, moreover, that Christ did not offer his sacrifice of himself at the time he instituted the eucharist, but on the day following, when he died upon the cross: and that, as far as simply his sacrifice was concerned, Christ was conformed to Aaron rather than to Melchizedek—of whom nothing respecting sacrifice is on record.

Preservation of the church from error.

With respect to the third argument, of the church, in consequence of the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, not being liable to be misled, he observed, that many passages of holy writ implied, that numbers of Christ's *professed* disciples would be misled; though, he confessed, the elect would not—fatally, at least: that the doctrine of the sacrifice of Christ in the mass formed no part of that body of divine truth, which the Holy Spirit revealed to the apostles; and that, accordingly, there had

[1] His uniting the kingly and priestly offices, which the law divided to different tribes, is a main point insisted on by the apostle.

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always been found pious and holy men to protest against it as a corruption: that no length of time during which error was generally received could make it true: that simple-minded Christians did not follow their teachers in all their errors: and that, as for those who shut their eyes against the light of God's word, it was a righteous thing in God to give them over to be blinded.

Zwingle in reply to Stainly. (Condemning our forefathers.)

Here Zwingle in some degree rebuked Stainly, for having virtually adopted the argument of the profane, who said, 'You make all our forefathers to have lived and died in error, and thus to have gone to perdition.' "All the wicked," observed Zwingle, "use this argument when they would render the doctrine of Christ odious. But who," he proceeded, "says that our forefathers are lost? They erred on this and other points: yet their salvation was in the hand, and dependent on the mercy, of God, to which other sinners also must owe their salvation. It is not *our* business to pronounce concerning their state. Why do we arrogate to ourselves the office of the Judge of all? Why do we say that this or that man has perished? Cannot God claim and preserve his own, though in the midst of errors—even as he did the young Jews in the fiery furnace? That the inventors of these errors must give account to God, cannot be doubted. But this rash judging of others does not become us: we must leave all such cases to the judgment and mercy of God. That error *has* prevailed on the subject in question is as clear as the day."

He then added a few words on Stainly's fourth and last argument, the premises of which he, of course, denied: and he repeated the

explanation, before given, of the sense in which the eucharist was called a sacrifice by the ancients—namely as being a *commemoration* of the sacrifice of Christ, offered upon the cross.—Zwingle is generally considered as having too much reduced the sacrament of the Lord's supper to a *mere* commemoration. and there can be no doubt that his language is sometimes objectionable on that head: yet it may be questioned whether he meant any thing inconsistent with its being "a sign, a pledge, a means of grace," or only to deny to it the character of a propitiatory sacrifice. A. D. 1523.

Stainly declined making any reply: and Zwingle then addressed him in a friendly and brotherly manner, commending the spirit which he manifested, his learning, and his knowledge of the scriptures. He had often, he said, heard of him before, and he had now listened to him with pleasure: but he conjured him to review the whole subject, and to employ his talents in the support of God's truth, and not against it. Stainly promised so far to comply with this advice, as to give his best consideration to the subjects in dispute between them. [1]

This whole passage, in which Stainly was concerned, must be considered as a truly pleasing specimen of fair, candid, manly, and right-tempered discussion on both sides; such as must strongly tend to the discovery and establishment of the truth.

Though the disputation was extended to a third day, little more occurred which need be particularly related. Burgawer of S. Gallen, being asked his opinion, declared his hearty agreement with the two propositions. He had Closing passages of the discussion.

[1] Zuing. Op. ii. 635—639.

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taught, he said, the doctrine which they laid down, and for so doing had been cited before the vicar general of the bishop of Constance. Hubmeyer, or Pacimontanus,[1] John Zuiccius of Constance, and several other persons expressed their concurrence; and one, who had before been an opposer, now avowed himself convinced, and confessed his error. The canons of Zuric, as has indeed been implied, were divided in their opinion. Those of Embrach declined offering any thing in opposition to the propositions. The guardian of the Franciscans and the prior of the Dominicans followed their example. At the close of the discussion, Zwingle exhorted the council, and Leo Jude the clergy, faithfully to follow their convictions, committing all consequences to God, who never failed them that reposed their trust in him.

Its termination.

The three presidents then rose, and Vadian, speaking in behalf of them all, observed, that no definitive sentence was to be pronounced as the decision of the meeting: they had heard the testimony of God's word in support of the two propositions, and likewise what could be urged against them: each person must judge for himself what was the conclusion to be formed, and must follow the dictates of his own conscience. He doubted not that the truth of God would prevail.—The burgomaster then returned the thanks of the council to the three presidents, and joined in the exhortation to all present to take the word of God for their only guide, and to follow it, fearing nothing. Thus the meeting closed.[2]

[1] Above, p. 419.

[2] Acta, ubi supra. J. H. Hottinger, vii. 633—639. Ruchat, i. 196—201. Gerdes, i. 290—293. Du Pin, vi. 88.

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The effects of this discussion were immediately felt very sensibly at Schaffhausen. On the return of the deputies from Zuric, they reported to the abbot and the canons all that had passed: and the impression it made was such, that the former ever after shewed himself favourable to the reformation, and Dr. Erasmus Ritter entirely changed his sentiments, and henceforward as zealously maintained the reformed doctrine as he had before warmly opposed it.[1]

Its effects at Schaffhausen.

The first step taken by the government of Zuric, after the dissolution of the meeting, was, to release the persons imprisoned for throwing down the crucifix, with the exception of Hottinger, who, for the leading part which he had taken in that act of disorder, was banished the canton for two years—a sentence which, as we shall see, very contrary to the intentions of those who passed it, entailed upon the poor man a violent and cruel death.

Consequences at Zuric.

In the next place, the council, having sufficiently perceived in the late discussions, how little knowledge of scriptural truth a great proportion of those who were appointed to be teachers of others possessed, ordered "A short Introduction to the true Christian doctrine," composed by Zwingle, to be printed, and sent to all the clergy, "that by means of it they might learn to preach the truth sincerely and without adulteration."[2]

Zwingle's Introduction to Christian doctrine.

[1] Ru. i. 202. Gerd. ii. 265.

[2] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 264—278. I purpose to give some further account of this excellent little work in a subsequent chapter. It is remarkable how cautiously the government of Zuric, at this period at least, abstained from imposing any thing on the consciences of its ministers. In the address of the council prefixed to the work thus sent round to all

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Steps preparatory to the abolition of the mass.

Their further steps were taken with great caution and moderation. Though convinced that neither the mass nor the use of images could be justified by the word of God, they would not at once abolish them, while many professed not to have received the same conviction: but they allowed every minister to say mass or decline it, as he thought proper: and it was in consequence to a great degree neglected by the clergy, and deserted by the people. They strictly forbad, however, the eating of meat during lent, not being yet satisfied that the customary observance of that season ought to be dispensed with. Before they proceeded further with respect to the mass and images, they resolved once more to address the three bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire, as also the university of Basle, and each of the twelve cantons, transmitting to them copies of the little work of Zwingle's which they had lately issued, praying them that, if they could adduce any good reasons, drawn from scripture, why the use of images and the mass should still be retained, they would not fail to communicate them—promising to wait for their answer till Whitsuntide in the following year: "but they resolved after that time was elapsed, unless some satisfactory

the clergy, they are merely required to study the book, and the scriptures to which it referred them, with the hope expressed that they would thus find reason to teach according to it. They are threatened with any marks of the council's displeasure, only in case of their neglecting it, and going contrary to it, "without being able to assign scriptural reasons for so doing." Nay the council declare, that they would still, with the utmost thankfulness, listen to any one who would, from the scriptures, correct any of their present views of things.—In all this we are doubtless to trace the counsels of Zwingle.

answer were received, to proceed to the abolition of those popish observances. A.D. 1524.

In the mean time, in consequence of the dissatisfaction expressed by some of the clergy, and a challenge given to Zwingle by five of the canons, a third disputation was held at Zuric, on the thirteenth and fourteenth of January 1524, but with the same result as before.[1] A third disputation at Zuric.

But the more successfully the reformation advanced, the more violently, as might be expected, was the rage of those who still continued hostile to it excited. In the month of January, 1524, the cantons, (with the exception of Zuric and Schaffhausen,) assembled at Lucerne, fulminated a second edict, "for the honour of God, the holy Virgin, and all the saints," against the new doctrines, and those who promulgated them. It comprised nineteen articles, asserting all the points of the Romish superstition which had been lately assailed. Amongst other things it provided, "that neither in taverns nor at feasts should any mention be made of Luther, or of any novel doctrine; and that those who carried about relics of the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, or of S. Anthony, should not be laughed at by any one; and that whatever laws the bishop of Constance enacted respecting religion should be observed: and it professed to bind every one by oath, whether man or woman, old or young, who saw or heard any thing done, spoken, or preached, contrary to this edict, to give immediate information of the same in the proper quarter. The very circumstances which were supposed to call for Violent edict of the Cantons.

[1] J. H. Hottinger, vii. 639. Ru. i. 201—204. Gerd. i. 292—294, 310.

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such an edict would make it, generally speaking, nugatory. It attests however the interest universally excited upon the question of religion, and the contempt into which the objects of popish veneration were falling.[1]

Martyrdom of N. Hottinger.

But there were parts of the country where both magistrates and people would be found ready to give effect to an edict like this; and it had at least one victim, whose story will be painfully interesting to us. This was Nicholas Hottinger, who, it has been stated, was banished from Zurie for two years. He had taken up his abode at Baden, then under the joint sovereignty of the eight ancient cantons. Here he was seized and thrown into prison, on the charge of having said, "that the clergy did not well and truly interpret the scriptures; that they administered not the mass according to the institution of Christ; that we ought to put our trust only in God; that the mass was not a sacrifice; that awful blasphemy was committed in the celebration of it; and that images are forbidden by the word of God:"— heavy charges these on which to convict a man capitally, before a civil tribunal, and that in a land of liberty! When interrogated, Hottinger professed himself ready to justify what he had advanced. The magistrates of Zurie wrote in his favour to the deputies of the states, which held the joint sovereignty with them, then assembled at Lucerne: but he was removed thither from Baden, and brought before his judges. He pleaded his cause before them with the same calmness and courage which he had previously manifested: but it was in vain; as was also the interposition

[1] Sleidan, 67. (lib. iv.). Ru. i. 204. Gerd. i. 295.

of Zuric in his behalf. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he supported himself by adverting to the redemption achieved for him by his Saviour: and, hearing one of his judges brutally and profanely remark, "He must now lose his head; if he should recover it again, we will then be of his religion;" he answered, "The will of the Lord be done! and may he be pleased to pardon all who have contributed to my death. To Jesus also it was said, *Let him come down from the cross, and we will believe on him.*" A monk presented a crucifix to him: but he put it from him, saying, "It is by faith that we must embrace Christ crucified, in our hearts:" and then he spoke of the virtue of the cross, "but not," he added, "a cross of wood, but the passion and death of our Saviour." Seeing many persons weep as they followed him to the place of execution, he said, "Weep not for me, but for yourselves. I am going from misery to eternal happiness; but you have much need to weep for your sins, and to implore of God the gift of true faith and repentance, that you may be saved by Jesus Christ." He then repeated the Lord's prayer and the creed. On the scaffold he exhorted the cantons to remember the firm and faithful friendship which Zuric had ever shewn for them, and not to suffer themselves to be hurried by a blind zeal into violent resolutions against a sister state, merely because it contended for the truth. His last words were, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit, O my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Have mercy upon me and receive my soul!" And with these words he submitted to the stroke of the executioner. A. D. 1524.

Thus died the first martyr of the Swiss

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reformation; who, though he had in one instance suffered himself to be hurried away by an ill-regulated zeal, yet was chargeable with nothing into which a good man might not fall, chiefly for want of being better instructed in his duty: and in his death he exhibited a spirit not unworthy of the primitive witnesses for the gospel. The contrast of his conduct with that of his judges exhibits a specimen of the genius of the two religions, respectively professed by him and by them; and it could not but afford a strong presumption to every candid mind, as to the side on which truth and goodness were to be found. We are not surprised therefore to hear that his example contributed much to the advancement of the reformed doctrine.[1]

Resolutions of the cantons.

The legalized murder of their fellow-citizen could not fail to raise great indignation in the citizens of Zuric, against the cantons which had perpetrated it. Little leisure however was allowed them for the indulgence of their feelings. The other cantons, assembled at Lucerne, with the exception of Schaffhausen, adopted resolutions by which they bound themselves, throughout their territories, and with all their powers, to maintain the Roman-catholic religion, and especially the doctrine of the real presence: and they expressly desired the deputy of Zuric to communicate the fact to his government.

Their deputation to Zuric. March 11.

Not content with this, they sent a deputation to Zuric expressly to dissuade that state from persisting in the course on which it had entered.[2]

[1] Ru. i. 205—208. Gerd. i. 295-6.

[2] To these proceedings, to which their own feelings too naturally gave birth, it would seem they were further prompted by the joint application of the bishops of Constance, Basle, and Lausanne, representing to them that,

They represented to the council, "that heretofore all things were quiet, and no contention existed about religion;[1] but that now rash and hot-headed men every where sowed the seeds of discord: that it had been well done, if this growing evil had been stopped in the beginning, and if, after the example of their ancestors, they had vindicated the honour of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin, and all the saints, at the expense of their fortunes and their lives: that, unless this were now forthwith done, universal ruin and the loss of their souls would follow: that what were the fruits of the doctrine which Luther had introduced began to be apparent, in the insolence of the people, who shewed themselves ripe for rebellion: that the contagion of this evil had been conveyed to *them* by Zwingle and Leo Jude; and that, though they themselves (the diet) but little understood what their doctrine was, yet they had daily experience of the evils which it produced—in that on days prohibited by the church men ate flesh and eggs without scruple—priests and the religious of both sexes broke their vows and married—the divine services were neglected, and there were no more chantings or prayers in the churches—the clergy were dishonoured—monasteries dissolved—confession and penance superseded, and men presumed to receive the holy sacrament without them—the mass was reproached, the Virgin and the A. D. 1524.

"if the innovators succeeded in throwing off the yoke of their ecclesiastical superiors, their next step would be to emancipate themselves from the authority of their civil governors; and that, as the assembling of a council was unhappily deferred, it became necessary that other measures should be adopted." Ru. i. 212.

[1] In other words, "The strong man armed kept his palace, and his goods were in peace."

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saints insulted, pictures and images pulled down and destroyed, no reverence shewn to the sacraments of the church, and even the most holy host, exhibiting the body and blood of Christ, was scarcely safe in the hands of the priests: that for their own parts they could no longer endure such a state of things; and they therefore prayed the council of Zuric to abandon their novel proceedings, and to adhere to the religion of their forefathers: that, if they felt themselves aggrieved by the pope and his agents in their invasions of the right of patronage—their sales and exchanges of church livings—their draining the country of money by the sale of indulgences—and their usurpation of authority which did not belong to them, and applying to political and temporal purposes the power which ought to be exclusively spiritual:—if these and many other things were grievous and burdensome to them, they themselves felt the same, to their great displeasure; and would willingly concur with them in casting off the oppression."

Remark.

From this representation, made by those who were both disposed and well qualified to paint the evils resulting, or supposed to result, from the reformation, in the darkest colours, we learn the amount of the charges which could then be brought against it. With the exception of a degree of alleged insubordination in the lower orders, now become sensible of the impositions that had been practised upon them, (of which insubordination the affair of the overthrow of the crucifix at Zuric was perhaps the strongest instance that could be produced,) scarcely one of the evils charged is a moral offence. Almost all amount to no more than the neglect of popish observances.

To this address of the cantons the council of Zuric returned a full and firm reply. "For five years past," they said, "their present ministers had officiated among them. At first, indeed, their doctrine had appeared to them novel, because they had heard nothing of the kind before: but, when they came to understand that the scope of it was simply this—to exhibit Jesus Christ as the author and finisher of our salvation, who had shed his precious blood for the sins of the world, and alone delivered wretched mortals from eternal death, and is the only mediator between God and man; they could not but embrace such glad tidings with ardent zeal. That great had been the harmony and consent among those who received the doctrine of Christ in ancient times, and they hoped to see the like again among such as should apply their minds to it without regard to human traditions, which had no foundation in the word of God. That if Luther or any other taught this doctrine he did well; but that his name ought not to be imposed upon *them*, as if they had received the doctrine merely because he taught it—for this would be a malicious aspersion, derogatory to the honour of the word of God. That, though they confined their adoration to Christ, and made him their only resource, yet they offered no injury or disrespect to Mary and the saints. That there was now so much light diffused through their city, that most of their people read and diligently searched the holy scriptures for themselves; nor could their ministers misrepresent the sacred writings which were in the hands of all: that schism and heresy, therefore, could not be objected to them, but might more justly be charged upon those, who,

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Answer of Zuric to the deputation.

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for the sake of their own gain and aggrandizement, turned the word of God to what sense they pleased. That error was imputed to them; but none was pointed out, or proved against them. That the bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire, and some universities also, had been repeatedly solicited to shew them their errors; but that to the present hour nothing of the sort had been done. That, as to what the bishops said, of its not being lawful for them to make the scriptures so common, it was supported by no sufficient reason: they were referred only to fathers and councils; but their wish was to hear, not what men had decreed, but what Christ willed and commanded. That their ministers gave no cause for divisions in the state: such a proceeding was rather to be attributed to those, who, for their own interest, had taught contrary to the word of God. That all the existing discords arose from those persons who feared the loss of their accustomed profits. That many vices had indeed been introduced (in these later times), which were unknown to their ancestors, but that their teachers reproved them, exhorting men to the fear of God; and, if numbers were not reformed by their doctrine, this was THE FAULT, NOT OF THE SEED SOWN, BUT OF THE GROUND INTO WHICH IT FELL.[1] That certainly within their territories, such

[1] See the parable of the Sower. The remark here made is very pertinent and important, and is directly applicable in reply to a thousand charges both from Romanists and from other quarters. Most of the arguments which the Roman-catholic Dr. Milner displays, with so much confidence, against the sufficiency of holy scripture, (in his "End of Controversy,") drawn from the fact of its not having actually preserved mankind from error, are in reality only proofs of the weakness, waywardness, and corruption of our common nature—dis-

a degree of luxury and intemperance was not to be seen, as prevailed elsewhere; and their people now entered not, as formerly, into those hired military services, which were productive of unnumbered evils. That, as to the eating of flesh and eggs in lent, though it was not unlawful, and had not been prohibited by Christ, they had passed a law to restrain the rashness of the people, and prevent the offence occasioned by it. That, with respect to marriage, God was the author of it, and he allowed it to all; and they could not fight against him by prohibiting what he had instituted. That S. Paul, in enumerating the qualifications of a minister of the church, had even mentioned his being *the husband of one wife*. That it seemed to them just, that the goods of convents, and colleges of regulars, should be applied to the use of the poor—which was their original design; and not be employed in pampering persons who did not need them: yet, in order that no one might have just cause of complaint, they had allowed the present possessors to enjoy them for their lives. That the (costly) ornamenting of churches was no part of the worship of God, but that the relief of the poor and miserable was highly acceptable to him: and Christ's command to the rich young man was, not to hang up his wealth in churches for a shew, but *to sell that he had, and give to the poor*. That they did not despise, but on the contrary highly esteemed, the order of the priesthood, when priests did their duty, and taught the people aright: A. D. 1524.

eases no where more apparent than in those who thus insult others for labouring under them.—The light shines, but the eye is "not single." The rays of the sun are pure, but the jaundiced eye discolours them.

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but that, as for the crowds of idle priests, who did no good to the community, but much harm, they doubted not that gradually to diminish their number would be a service well-pleasing to God. That whether their chantings and prayers were pleasing to him might well be doubted, since most of them understood not the words they used, and did it only for hire. That what was the worth of auricular confession, or the recounting of sins to a priest, they would not take upon them to determine; but the confession with which true penitents betook themselves to Christ must be esteemed not only useful but indispensable. That the usual mode of making satisfaction for sins (so gainful to the priesthood,) appeared to involve much error and impiety; and that the true way for men to repent and make satisfaction was, to reform their lives.[1] That the order of monks was a mere human institution. That they highly reverenced the sacraments which had God for their author, and would suffer no one to treat them with contempt; but that these holy ordinances ought to be administered according to the divine appointment; and that the Lord's supper was not to be converted into an offering or sacrifice for sin. That the council was extremely glad to hear from the cantons that they wished to see the pope's rapine, extortion, and exorbitant power abolished; but that there was no better way of accomplishing this desirable object, than to follow in all things the word of God; for, so long as the laws and decrees of the church were in force, no

[1] The very term, "making satisfaction," should have been avoided: but, when the whole is taken together, it is obvious that nothing really objectionable was intended.

relief from its encroachments could be expected: the preaching of God's word could alone shake the usurped dominion. That the adherents of the papacy were fully sensible how great was the power of truth and of the gospel; on which account they had recourse to kings and princes to defend them against its progress. For *their* parts, they were ready to contribute not only their counsel, but all they possessed, to effect the removal of the existing abuses. They prayed the other cantons therefore to take in good part what they had urged, and to give it their best consideration. They desired nothing more earnestly than that all should live in peace and harmony; and they would do nothing contrary to the engagements subsisting between them and their allies: but, with respect to the present question, which concerned their eternal salvation, they could not change their course, unless they were shewn to have been in error. If the cantons could prove to them, that in any respect they were going contrary to the holy scriptures, they most earnestly intreated, as they had before done, that they would not fail to do it; and would not delay the attempt beyond the close of the month of May—the period to which they had agreed to wait for the answer of the bishops, and of the university of Basle."[1] A. D. 1524.

Remarks.

We can be at no loss to divine "whose hand had been with" the council of Zuric in this reply. They were accustomed to avail themselves of the advice of Zwingle on all such occasions; and we may conclude that we here read his sentiments, if not his words. On this account we have been the more willing to

[1] Sleidan, 69—72. (lib. iv.) R'u. i. 208—211. Gerd. i. 296—301.

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give the paper so much at length. But it is impossible to read documents of this kind, emanating from senates and councils, without remarking the vast and even portentous change which has taken place. If statesmen and political bodies formerly too much approximated to the character of divines, they have surely now gone, to a fearful degree, into the opposite extreme—when their proceedings scarcely bear the trace of a reference to the scriptures, the providence, or the will and favour of God, or to those rules which he has given to direct the conduct both of nations and of individuals. Alas! in our public transactions we seem to have at least grown "ashamed of Christ and of his words," if we have not gone the length of declaring that we "will not have him to reign over us." We may flatter ourselves that we have cast off the narrow bigotry of former ages, and have made great advances in illumination: but, if this is to be shewn in the exclusion of religion, true and practical Christian religion, whether from our public counsels or our private habits, "the light that is in us will be found to be darkness."

The bishops of Constance and Basle on images and the mass.

In the beginning of June, the bishops sent a long answer (extending to fifty sheets,) to the application which the council of Zuric had made to them on the subject of images and the sacrifice of the mass. This answer had previously received the approbation of some universities, and was so satisfactory to its authors that they published it to the world, at the same time that they sent it to Zuric. It was first examined by a commission of the clergy and members of the senate, and then read and considered in the council; who employed Zwingle to prepare an answer to it in

their name.[1] As it only urged, in favour of images, the old arguments, that those which the Old Testament prohibited were the idols of the heathen, whereas those now in use were of a totally different kind, and regarded in a different manner, and therefore might and ought to be retained under the sanction of the church's authority; and pleaded, in support of the sacrifice of the mass, the testimonies of popes and councils; it is unnecessary here to dwell either upon the paper or the reply to it.[2] A. D. 1524.

[1] The answer is addressed only to the bishop of Constance. I do not find that the bishop of Coire had taken part in the communication made to the council, but the bishop of Basle was certainly concerned in it.

[2] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 205—226. Sleid. 72. (lib. iv.) Ru. i. 211. Gerd. i. 304-5. Zwingle's answer is dated August 18. Though the reference made for the following passage is certainly wrong, and I have not found it any where exactly in Zwingle's works, yet it may be given as a fair statement of his general line of argument against images, drawn from *facts*. "He who first placed the statue of a holy man in a temple had certainly no other intention than to offer him as an object of imitation to the faithful; but men did not stop there. The saints were soon surrounded with a pomp which impressed the imagination of the people; they were transformed into divinities, and honoured as the pagans honoured their gods. Their names are given to temples and altars, and chapels are consecrated to them in woods, in fields, and upon mountains. How many men in the hour of trouble, or at the approach of danger, instead of invoking the Omnipotent, call upon men who have been dead for ages, whose virtues have certainly placed them in the mansions of the blessed, but who can neither hear nor succour us! How many Christians, instead of having recourse to the mercy of the Redeemer, expect salvation from some saint, the object of their superstitious devotion! There are even some who attribute supernatural virtues to these images. In order to enhance the veneration for them, they are sometimes kept concealed, and sometimes brought forth in pompous processions. Men consult them to learn the future; and to such a degree is the credulity of the vulgar abused, that they are made to believe that these inanimate statues have uttered words, shed tears, and given commands.

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Further proceedings of the council of Zuric.

The council now scrupled not to proceed in the work of reformation. Even before the receipt of the bishops' answer concerning images and the mass, they had, at the solicitation of the three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Leo Jude, restrained or regulated several customary observances. A grand procession, annually made from Zuric to Einsidlin on Whitmonday, with the cross and banner at its head, they entirely abolished. The same was done by the procession of Corpus Christi—the provost and chapter having joined the pastors in a representation, that Christ had instituted the eucharist to be devoutly received in remembrance of his cross and passion, and not to be carried about to be gazed at by the idle multitude. Other celebrations the council regulated, ordering that they should be accompanied by a sermon; after which the people should return to their ordinary employments: thus aiming in a measure to correct the excessive number of holidays, which so much promote idleness and vice in Roman-catholic countries. They likewise abolished offerings for the dead, the blessing of palms, of holy water, and of tapers, and the rite of extreme unction, with some other observances, as being superstitious, and contrary to the word of God. They caused the shrines in the churches, which were said to contain many wonderful relics of the saints, to be opened. Where bones

Look at the votive tablets that cover the walls of our temples; is there one which testifies the gratitude of a Christian towards God, the dispenser of all good, or Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world? No, it is to men whose condition on earth was similar to our own that they attribute the miraculous cure of a disease, or unexpected succour in the hour of danger, or a wise resolution taken in some important circumstance of life." Hess, 171—173.

were found, they were interred with decent respect: but in general no such things as had been expected were discovered.[1] A. D. 1524.

The pastors now pressed to have the resolution for the abolition of images carried into effect: and the council accordingly appointed a commission, consisting of seven ecclesiastics, namely, the abbot of Cappel, the commendator of Kusnacht, the provosts of Zuric and Embrach, and the three pastors of Zuric, with some members of their own body, to consider and report on the most unexceptionable mode of proceeding.

Abolition of images.

Of the very prudent and temperate measures which were adopted Zwingle himself has given us a particular account. In consequence of the act of violence committed by Hottinger and his associates, the council had prohibited any person to remove images without public authority, except such as had been set up by members of his family, and still remained under his private control. Even under this restriction many had been withdrawn from the churches. The clergy were next empowered, after due consultation with other parties concerned, to remove images from their respective churches, provided it were done in an orderly and inoffensive manner. This regulation chiefly respected the country parishes. In the town, those persons whose families had erected images in the churches received notice that they must withdraw them within a limited time, or they would be removed by public

[1] Ru. i. 213–215. Gerd. i. 294. Thus, at Geneva, when the relics which had been idolatrously adored were examined, the arm of S. Anthony was found to be part of the body of a stag, and the brain of S. Peter a pumice stone! Scultet. 201.

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authority. This caused many more to be taken away. The prescribed period having elapsed, the three pastors, with twelve members of the council, of the different tribes, accompanied by a guardian of the public buildings and proper workmen, proceeded to the several churches, and, with closed doors, (to prevent a concourse of the people,) took down all the remaining images, and burned or otherwise destroyed them. In the country similar proceedings were adopted: and "not one of these idols," observes Zwingle, "was found able to deliver himself: all submitted to their fate with the most profound resignation. One stone figure of the Virgin, the monks did not scruple to affirm, would never be removed, or at least never be kept from its station; for that it had been repeatedly taken away, and even locked up, but was always found in its place again! But it returned no more after we had removed it."[1]

June 15.

Temperate character of the proceedings.

Gerdes appeals to this account, which he says was fully borne out by the authentic Acts of the council, then recently published,[2] as vindicating Zwingle from the censure passed upon him by Mosheim, that, "dazzled with the light into which he had just emerged, he was ill able to discriminate the objects around him: whence bitter animosities and deplorable calamities proceeded from his indiscreet proceedings." Such a censure appears to be little applicable to Zwingle: but it may be observed that the passage does not appear to exist in the copies of Mosheim current among

[1] Zuing. Op. i. 261 (b). Ru. i. 215—217. Gerd. i. 294, 301—304.

[2] By Fueslin, in his Collection of Documents relating to the Swiss Reformation.

us.[1]—The same caution was observable in the resolution of the council, to defer till the next year any further proceeding respecting the mass, on the ground that one decisive step of this kind was sufficient to be taken at a time. A. D. 1524.

Zwingle this year set the example of himself using that liberty for which he contended on behalf of his brethren, by marrying Anna Reinhart, widow of John Meyer, lord of Weiningen, in the county of Baden. He had by her several children, only two of whom survived him—Ulric, who trod in his father's steps, and was a canon and archdeacon of Zuric; and Regula, married to Rudolph Gualter, a divine of eminence, to whom we are indebted for the Latin translation of many of Zwingle's writings, found in his collected works. As the former husband of the lady whom Zwingle married was rich, as well as of noble rank, the enemies of the reformer did not fail to charge him with having been influenced in his choice by motives of avarice and ambition. This led him to give such an exposition of his circumstances, as furnishes another instance of the sort of worldly portion, with which these noble-minded leaders of the reformation not only contented themselves, but contrived also to exercise both hospitality and charity "without grudging." "People talk," he says, "of the rich benefices, of the pastors of Zuric, but I can declare that mine this year would not have produced me sixty pieces of gold,[2] unless the heads of our

Zwingle's marriage.

His emoluments.

[1] Maclaine's Mosheim, § 12. of second chapter on the Reformation.

[2] I know not the value of the *aureus* here mentioned. The *gould* or *gulden*, now used in many parts of Switzerland, is only about two shillings and sixpence. How it is that Zwingle's canonry should not have been more productive, I know not.

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college (the chapter?) had allowed me some advantages. My adversaries swell the amount from sixty to three hundred!—I do not make this statement as complaining of poverty. God is my witness, that, if ever I feel uneasiness upon that subject, it is only because I cannot, to the extent of my wishes, relieve the number of poor people who need assistance. And indeed, if I consulted my own ease, I should gladly resign every sixpence of my stipend, to extricate myself from the hazardous services in which I am engaged. But neither the state of the times, nor the improvement of the talent committed to me, will allow me to retire.—As for my wife, apart from her clothes and her ornaments, she does not possess more than four hundred pieces of gold in the world: and, for her ornaments, she so little esteems them, that she has never made any use of them since her marriage with me. The children indeed of her former marriage are rich; (may God give them grace to use their wealth aright!) and from them she receives thirty pieces of gold per annum: I have forborne to claim any further dowry, though I might have done it."[1]

Brief of Clement VII. to the cantons.

In the month of April, of this year, Clement VII, who had succeeded Adrian VI. in the papal chair in the preceding September, addressed a brief to the Helvetic republic generally, and, in particular, to all such members of it as had exerted themselves in support of the catholic faith, commending their zeal as "more glorious to them than all the victories and military achievements of their countrymen," and exhorting them "to persevere in

[1] Zuing. Op. ii. 47 (b). Ru. i. 217, 495. (505.) Gerd. i. 305—307.

their laudable course, and to extirpate all impugners of the ancient faith."—Animated by this address, as well as roused by the decisive proceedings at Zuric, the other ten cantons, assembled at Zug in the month of June, sent ambassadors to Zuric, Shaffhausen, and Appenzel, to upbraid the first of those states with its apostacy, and adoption of principles subversive of the Christian faith; and to warn the other two against following so fatal an example: at the same time giving notice to them all, that the cantons were resolved to tolerate no "Lutheran errors" in their own territories, or in the governments which they administered in common with any of them; but to inflict upon all followers of the Lutheran sect condign punishment, both in their persons and their goods.—The six cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Friburg went still further: they declared to the citizens of Zuric, that they would neither in future call them to the diet of the cantons, nor sit with them there, till they renounced the novel dogmas they had embraced. Neither their exhortations nor their menaces, however, produced any effect on the reformed; who simply answered, "that they believed they had done nothing unbecoming sincere Christians, since in all their measures they had endeavoured to make the word of God their only rule."[1]

A. D. 1524.

Their violent measures.

June

An occasion soon afterwards presented itself to the Roman catholic cantons of shewing that they meant not to content themselves with idle threats, especially in the common

[1] Ru. i. 253—255. Gerd. i. 308. Though Schaffhausen appeared to return a less firm answer, yet it still went on with its reformation. Gerd. ii. 265-6.

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bailliages, where the opinions of Zwingle were now gaining ground.

The town of Stamheim, situated on the frontiers of Thurgau, was dependent upon Zuric, except for its criminal jurisdiction, which was vested in the bailiff of Thurgau—appointed by the eight ancient cantons in rotation. The present bailiff was Joseph Amberg, of Schweitz, a man who had once favoured Zwingle's principles, but who, in order to secure his election to his present office, had promised to use his endeavours to suppress the new doctrines in Thurgau. Stamheim was governed by a vice-bailiff, of the name of John Wirth, a zealous patron of the reformation, and, as such, very obnoxious to Amberg. Wirth's sons, John and Adrian, both clergymen, had also been stationed at Stamheim by the council of Zuric, for the instruction of the people. These persons, having received the edict of the council on the subject, had promptly removed all the images placed in public situations at Stamheim: an act for which Amberg would have seized and imprisoned them, had he not been prevented by the interposition of the people, who ran to arms in their defence. A short time after, however, he succeeded in carrying off, in the dead of night, John Œchslin, of Einsidlin, the learned and pious minister of the neighbouring town of Burg. This he did in contempt of the privileges of Stein, on which town Burg was dependent. An alarm was raised, and a number of people of all ranks, from Stein, Stamheim, and other places, pursued the soldiers who carried off Œchslin. Œchslin however was not rescued: but many of the people on their return, or during a parley between the parties, procured refresh-

The Wirths.

Seizure of Œchslin.

A tumult.

ment at the convent of Ittingen; and some of the most disorderly, perhaps intermingled with others who were prompted by a fanatical zeal, being disappointed of their object, and having drunk to excess, proceeded to pillage the convent and set it on fire. The Wirths were present, and used their utmost endeavours to restrain the people, but unhappily without success: and, most iniquitously, the whole penalty of the outrage was made to fall upon them and their friend Burchard Ruteman, vice-bailiff of Nushbaumen, a man of the same principles with themselves. These parties were publicly accused by the Roman-catholic cantons as the authors or ringleaders of the tumult. The council of Zuric, whose subjects they were, in consequence, ordered them to be apprehended, and detained them in custody for three weeks; when, after full examination, they pronounced them entirely innocent. But this did not satisfy the cantons, now assembled at Baden; who threatened that, if the accused were not delivered up to them, they would march their troops to Zuric, and carry them off by force of arms. The dread of a civil war, together with the confidence that the parties would be able clearly to establish their innocence, prevailed over the firmness of the council, and they delivered them up; but upon the express stipulation that they should be examined only with respect to the late affair, and in the presence of the deputies of Zuric; and that their religion should not be pleaded against them. This decision of the council was much blamed by many of the citizens; at the head of whom was Zwingle. "To yield to threats," said he, "and to renounce your just rights, when the life of a subject is at

A. D. 1524.

The Wirths accused.

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stake, is a criminal weakness, from which none but the most fatal consequences can be expected."

Their martyrdom.

The prisoners, being surrendered, were conducted to Baden, and there thrown into a dungeon. When brought before the cantons, they were immediately questioned concerning the removal of the images at Stamheim, and on other points affecting their religion. The protest of the deputies of Zuric, against this gross violation of the conditions on which they had been allowed to appear there, was only derided. The prisoners were put to the torture, in order to draw from them confessions which might give some colour of justice to the sentence which it was already determined to pronounce upon them. When the elder Wirth, under the extremity of torture, cried out, and implored the help of God, one of the impious wretches, his examiners, demanded, "Where is now your Christ? Bid him come to your relief." The wife of Wirth hastened to Baden, to implore the mercy of his judges. She set forth his numerous family; and pleaded that, even if there were some causes of complaint against her husband, he might well claim the indulgence of the sovereign power, in consideration of his past fidelity. "It is true," replied the deputy of Zug, who had preceded Amberg in the government; "I have been twice bailiff of Thurgau, and I never knew a more innocent, upright, and hospitable man than Wirth. His house was open to all who stood in need of his assistance: he ever shewed himself a good and faithful subject, and I cannot imagine what demon can have drawn him into this tumult. If he had plundered, robbed, or even murdered, I would willingly speak in his

favour; but, since he has burned the image of the blessed S. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, there can be no mercy shewn him." Such was the opinion, or at least such was the determination of the other deputies—that no mercy should be shewn him; and they accordingly condemned him and his companions to die. To colour over, however, their cruel and fanatical sentence with the appearance of mercy, they granted the pardon of the second son, Adrian, to the tears of his mother.—During the short interval between his condemnation and his execution, the father exacted from this son a promise, that he would not attempt in any way to avenge his death: and the elder brother said to him, "You know that we have faithfully preached the word of God, but always under the cross: do not then weep, but resume your courage, and be constant. I render thanks to Almighty God that he hath honoured me by this day calling me to suffer and die for his word. Blessed be his holy name for ever! His will be done!"—The processes, enumerating the crimes for which they were severally condemned to die, were read over to them. The offences charged upon John Wirth, the son, were only his having eaten meat and eggs in lent; having refused to say mass, alleging that it became not him to set Jesus Christ to sale; and having said that it was better to give money to the poor, than to S. Anne, who had no need of it. Against the two vice-bailiffs, in addition to offences of the same nature, were charged the pulling down and destroying of images.[1] The

A. D. 1524.

Sept. 26.

[1] Hess adds, in the elder Wirth's case, "his intention of rescuing the pastor of Stein," and the part he had taken in associating certain municipalities for mutual defence.

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elder Wirth, on hearing the processes, would have again spoken in vindication of himself: but his son said, "We ought to leave the matter: it must be that Antichrist should seek to cover his crimes by lies: but God will in the last day make it manifest on which side innocence and virtue are found." On the scaffold, the son took leave of his father in the following terms: "My dear father, henceforward you shall be no more my father, nor I your son: for we are brothers in Christ Jesus, for the love of whom we are about to die. But we are going to him who is our father, and the father of all the faithful: and in his presence we shall enjoy eternal life."—The sufferers all met their death with constancy, in the presence of a crowd of weeping spectators.

Adrian Wirth was soon after released, with orders to make a public confession of his crime at Einsidlin: but he escaped to Zuric, where he found an asylum, became pastor of Altorff, married, and was the father of the celebrated Rudolph Hospinian,[1] author of the Historia Sacramentaria. He lived to the year 1563.—Œchslin was released, after having been put to the torture at Lucerne. He likewise took refuge in the canton of Zuric, and became a pastor there.

The sentence against the Wirths involved the confiscation of the property of the family: but, through the interference of the cantons of Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, which had not concurred in their condemnation, that part of the penalty was remitted; though the widow was barbarously ordered to pay ten

[1] I am not able to trace the connexion of the names Wirth and Hospinian; but Gerdes gives to all the family the latter name. i. 308.

crowns to the executioner who had beheaded her husband and her son! Nor did the blood of these victims appease the Roman-catholic cantons: they wished to punish by military execution the villages whose inhabitants, or rather a small part of them, had been concerned in the burning of the convent of Ittingen. But the council of Zuric had sufficient influence to restrain them from going beyond the imposition of a pecuniary fine upon the townships.[1] A. D. 1524.

The government of Zuric now felt it necessary to provide against any more direct and open measures of hostility, which their adversaries might adopt. They addressed themselves to the four cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, which either countenanced the reformation, or at least viewed it without that animosity which some others manifested. They called their attention especially to the conduct of the six cantons, which had declared their resolution not to admit the deputies of Zuric into the national diet, pointing out the fatal schism to which such a determination must lead, and entreating them to interpose to moderate the minds of their brethren towards them, and to procure them a patient hearing: and they begged that, before any further meeting of the cantons should take place, they would confer with Basle and Soleure upon this subject. The four cantons returned a favourable answer, and henceforward shewed a more decided disposition to befriend that of Zuric. The council at the same time wishing to be well assured of the disposition of their own people towards them, and the course they had

Precautionary measures of Zuric.

[1] Ru. i. 255–262. Hess, 179—194, from Bullinger, Steiner, and Rhan. Gerd. i. 308.

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of late pursued, caused the several communities into which the country was divided to be assembled, and stated to them what they had in contemplation, in addition to what had already been done, in the matter of religion, and the consequences it might entail upon them: and desired to know their sentiments, and how far the government might rely upon their support. The meetings were very unanimous in assuring their rulers of the readiness of the people to stand by them, with faithful attachment, under every emergency. The hostile cantons, in the mean time, anticipating that the dispute might ultimately issue in civil war, endeavoured to strengthen their party, and for this end sought a special alliance with the people of the Vallais, confederates of the Swiss republic.[1]

Surrender of the abbey of Frauenmunster;

Thus fortified, and favoured also by circumstances, the council of Zuric went boldly forward with its reforms. There existed at Zuric an ancient and wealthy abbey, of royal foundation, known by the name of Frauenmunster, for the reception of ladies of quality only. This society of females exercised many sovereign rights within, and even over the city; including those of coining all the money circulated, and nominating the persons who should preside in the tribunals of justice.[2] The present abbess, on the thirtieth of November 1524, of her own accord resigned all the rights and possessions of the institution to the magistrates, entreating them to employ its

[1] Ru. i. 263, 267, 268. Gerd. i. 309. Hess, 179.

[2] This state of things, which existed in other places besides Zuric, seems to have arisen from the rich monastic foundations not having been raised by the towns, but having preceded, and formed the towns by the population which they gathered about them.—Planta's Helv. Confed.

revenues for the glory of God and the relief of the poor, and only reserving for herself and her nuns suitable pensions. It need not be said, that the magistrates readily accepted a cession, which, besides all other considerations, was necessary to make them independent within their own city, and to enable them to exercise the full powers of civil governors. As soon as circumstances would permit, they established in the abbey, and supported by its revenues, a college for the gratuitous maintenance and instruction of a number of young men, destined, principally, for the service of the church: and, in consequence of this change, the city of Zurich, in the year 1526, for the first time coined money, and established courts of justice in its own name.[1] A. D. 1524.

Some similar changes about the same time took place with respect to the chapter of canons. This body had possessed jurisdiction, and exercised other rights of sovereignty, independently of the civil government. Zwingle, who had been now for some time a member of the chapter, considered such powers as incompatible equally with the good of the state, the character of the clergy, and the best interests of the church: and so much had the influence of his principles pervaded even the chapter itself, that it now resigned these rights to the magistracy of the town. The recitation of the canonical hours was also discontinued, and, in lieu of it, the practice was adopted of the ministers and professors assembling in the choir of the cathedral church five times in the week, to read the scriptures publicly, in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and finally in the German language, and to explain them to the and of the royalties of the chapter. December.

[1] Ru. i. 271-2. Gerd. i. 309, 310.

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different members of the ecclesiastical body, the students, and such of the people as chose to attend—beginning and concluding with prayer; a practice which was found much to promote edification, and the diffusion of scriptural knowledge among persons of various classes, who valued such acquisitions.[1]

Suppression of the mendicant orders.

December.

Nor did these proceedings end here. The council determined no longer to tolerate such an incumbrance upon the community as the mendicant monks, of whom there were several orders in the town. Such monks as were young and robust were required to learn trades, and support themselves by their own exertions. Those who had talents and inclination for study were furnished with the means of acquiring useful learning: while those who were aged, of all the different orders, were collected into the convent of the Franciscans, and there maintained at the public charge, or from the funds of suppressed monasteries. The convent of the Dominicans was converted into a hospital; and their church was made a fourth parish church for the benefit of the town. The other religious houses successively underwent similar changes, their revenues being applied to the relief of the sick, the poor, and destitute strangers. "Cupidity," it has been affirmed, "had no part in this secularization: the property of the church was neither embezzled by individuals, nor swallowed up by the treasury; it only received a more enlightened, and more truly pious destination. The disinterestedness

[1] Ru. i. 294. Gerd. i. 310, 328. Hess. (201—204) seems to combine these changes with those before made: above, p. 457. He says the knowledge of the *original* scriptures became not uncommon at Zuric, even among the mercantile classes.

and moderation which presided over these arrangements do honour to Zwingle," whose vigilance and firmness disconcerted the projects of such as would have made the changes subservient to private interest.[1] A. D. 1524.

The popish cantons had this year recourse to an expedient somewhat novel on their side of the question. Perceiving the influence which the disputations of Zuric had had in promoting the reformation, and hearing the reformed constantly proclaim their readiness to discuss the disputed points afresh—a challenge which, being declined, still further prejudiced their cause with the people; they became exceedingly anxious to procure a public discussion, of which the result should be favourable to them. But they had great obstacles to overcome. The papal authorities had ever held, that such discussions could not lawfully take place without the sanction of the pope; and also that they were superfluous and even improper, all material questions relating to the faith having been already examined and determined by more competent judges. At this time, however, they found a zealous papal advocate, who, whether from a confidence in his own powers, and the vanity of displaying them, or from any more sincere zeal for his religion, was ready not only to embark in the service, but to maintain the right of the cantons to appoint a discussion,—"seeing that, so far back as the time of the emperor Constantius, S. Athanasius and Arius had disputed in the presence of Probus, governor of Syria, who did not even profess the Christian religion." He wrote to the cantons, that, if the good

Disputation at Baden proposed by the R. C. Cantons.

Eckius.

[1] Hess. 204—207. Ec. et Z. Epist. 38. Ru. i. 272. Gerd. i. 310.

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people of Zuric would give him the hearing; "he hoped, by the help of God and his blessed Mother, they might be so convinced by his arguments as to wish *rather to be Turks than Lutherans!*"—This redoubted champion was no other than the celebrated Dr. Eckius of Ingoldstadt, well known in the history of the Lutheran reformation.[1] The Roman-catholic cantons accordingly proposed a disputation to be held at Baden, in the month of August, at which they engaged Eckius to take the lead on their side, and invited Zwingle to appear as the advocate of the opposite party. But the whole of the late conduct of these cantons; the proposal itself as proceeding from them; the sudden change of counsels which it implied; the eagerness they shewed for its adoption; the place at which the disputation was to be held—where the population was Roman-catholic, and had sufficiently displayed its temper on recent occasions; and particularly the terms of the safe conduct offered—which was to continue in force only to the close of the disputation, "when he that should be vanquished, and adjudged a heretic, should be punished as he deserved;" excited a strong suspicion, that the real object was to withdraw Zwingle from under the protection of the magistrates of Zuric, and then to take away his life. He refused therefore to attend a meeting "either at Baden or Lucerne," though he declared himself ready to encounter Eckius "either at Zuric,[2] or, under a proper

[1] It seems he bore also the name of *Meyer*, or *Major*, as well as that of Von Eck. "Joh. Meyer, dictus Eck." Gerd. ii. 276.

[2] "When Eckius offered to demonstrate the errors of Zwingle, we rejoiced to hear the proposal, and gave to

safe-conduct, at Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, or Glaris." And indeed the magistrates were so convinced of the danger to which he would be exposed, that they refused him permission to go to Baden. He again, on this occasion, declared his determination to admit no rule of judgment but the scriptures, or any one to pronounce definitively on the doctrines established.—Thus the proposal for the present proved abortive.[1] A. D. 1524.

Proposal of reformation by the R. C. Cantons.

The Roman-catholic cantons, though so determinately opposed to the sentiments of Zwingle and of Luther, could not conceal from themselves the necessity of reformation in the multiplied cases of scandal, of oppression and extortion, or of shameful neglect, which were every where presented to view in the management of the affairs of religion and the church. They had, moreover, in their deputation to Zuric, expressly acknowledged the existence of many of these evils, the offence they felt at them, and their readiness to concur in applying a proper remedy:[2] and they clearly perceived that there would be no possibility of arresting the progress of that system of reform which they regarded with alarm and abhorrence, but by some improvement in the existing state of things. As therefore they saw, to use their own language, "that the

him and others an unexceptionable safe-conduct, earnestly exhorting him to come to Zuric for the purpose, and promising him every kindness." Council of Zuric to the R. C. Cantons. Sleid. 78. (lib. iv.)

[1] Ru. i. 263—267. J. H. Hott. vii. 643—647. Gerd. ii. 277. Zwingle wrote to Eckius a long letter, in which he told him plainly what he thought of his character and his motives; and what also of his conduct in preferring charges against him before the government under which he lived, without communicating them to him. Z. Op. ii. 565. Gerd. ii. Doc. No. 14.

[2] Above, p. 482.

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supreme pastor and the subordinate rulers of the church slept in the midst of the troubles which prevailed," they took upon themselves, ("conceiving it to devolve on them as their duty,") by their deputies assembled at Lucerne, with those of the Vallois, to draw up a scheme for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, to be proposed for general adoption in the country. As might have been expected, the reformation they projected had reference to little more than external matters. They required that the clergy should not exact fees for administering the sacraments; should live in a regular and decorous manner; (for "they were resolved," they said, "no longer to tolerate the disorders of which men bearing a sacred character had been guilty";) should possess only one benefice, and should reside upon it; should restrict ecclesiastical jurisdiction and censures within their proper province; should themselves give absolution in all cases which required it, without reserving any to the pope or the bishop. They forbade the sale of indulgences, and the soliciting the sick to make bequests to their priests, or to the church: and they asserted the right of civil magistrates to take cognizance of the offences of ecclesiastics equally with those of their lay subjects. By such regulations they hoped to remove those causes of discontent, which disposed men to welcome the opinions and the proposals of the reformers. But, as the modern biographer of Zwingle justly observes, "they did not perceive that most of the abuses, generally complained of, were the necessary consequences of the dogmas combated by Zwingle" and his brethren; "and that, while these were suffered to subsist, it was impossible to obviate the inconveniences"

which flowed from them.[1] Even this superficial reformation, however, was too much opposed to the interests and habits of the clergy, and of those connected with them, to be admitted. Berne alone adopted the regulations, with some alteration, and published them in its territories the year following; while the other cantons declined them, determining to refer all changes that might be necessary to the long promised general council.[2] Thus had this proposal for reformation the same result with all that proceeded from that party, and particularly that of the commission of cardinals appointed by pope Paul III, several years afterwards.[3] A. D. 1524.

We have before stated, that the four cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had favourably entertained the application made to them by the government of Zuric, to interpose between that state and those which were so violently incensed against it. Basle also now shewed a disposition to look with a more friendly eye upon Zuric. The council availed itself of this opportunity to address to the members of the Helvetic confederation at large a manifesto, complaining of the great and repeated injuries which Zuric had sustained; tracing up all the virulence displayed towards it, 1. To its refusing some years before to enter into the alliance with the French king, and thus to render itself his pensionary, and to hire out its people to perish in foreign wars: 2. To its receiving the reformation: and, 3. To various false charges and gross calumnies propagated against Manifesto of Zuric. 1525. Jan. 4.

[1] Hess, 195. [2] Ru. i. 268—271. Gerd. ii. 280—282.
[3] Above, vol. i. 197—200.

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the canton; and too readily credited by its allies. The two former occasions of offence the council justified: the last it endeavoured to repel and do away. So far from being excluded from the general diet, they urged that they ought to be heard; and, if any thing could be established against them, let it be so, and they would be ready to apologize for it and amend it: "but let not the peace of Switzerland be broken by prejudices rashly taken up, and retained without examination." The manifesto concluded with declaring, that, "as they had often said before, the people of Zuric would be ready to submit to better information; but, unless it were proved from scripture that they had erred, they could not depart from those decrees which they had made concerning religion, whatever force might be directed against them on that account.[1]

Brief of the Pope. Feb. 14.

Even at this period, the pope had not abandoned the hope of reclaiming Zuric, and retaining it in its allegiance to the holy see. In the month of February he wrote both to that canton and to Schaffhausen, addressing the magistrates and citizens in the most flattering terms, praising their past fidelity, and casting all the blame, of any more recent departure from such a laudable course, on the impious men who had seduced them by assuming the name of reformers.[2]

Writings of Zwingle.

There were other writings, however, which produced more effect in Switzerland than those of the pope. At the close of the year 1524, and the beginning of 1525, Zwingle published several useful, and some very important works. Not to mention here any of his writings against

[1] Sleidan, 76—79. (lib. iv.) [2] Ruchat, i. 291, 499—507.

the Anabaptists, who how began to shew themselves in Switzerland, he addressed an "Expostulation" to Fridolin Lindower, a minister of Bremgarten, against two dogmas which he had advanced, namely, "that Christ suffered only for the sins of those who lived under the old Testament;" and "that no other sins are forgiven us through Christ than those which are washed away in baptism—such as follow afterwards being to be removed by the other sacraments of the church." Fancies like these are not worth recording, except it be to warn us against leaning to our own understandings, and indulging a passion for making *discoveries* in religion.—Zwingle also defended his work on the canon of the mass against Emser of Leipsic, who had attacked it.[1] A.D. 1525. Lindower.

At this time Valentine Compar, public secretary of the canton of Uri, wrote against Zwingle a work, which the author first read in a general assembly of the canton, and then published. Zwingle, in replying to him, readily acknowledged that he had defended the church of Rome in as able a manner as the case admitted, and in the spirit of one sincerely engaged in the search after truth. In consequence, the former answers him with great courtesy. In this work, among other interesting passages, Zwingle gives an extended account of the strange superstitions in which the people had been living, with respect to images and the saints. Many expected to obtain pardon of their sins by merely touching a certain statue. The pagans, he affirms, never committed more gross idolatry than that which was practised towards the virgin Mary at Val. Compar. April. Worship of Images and Saints.

[1] Gerd. i. 315, 316. Zuing. Op. i. 192 &c. 202 &c.

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Loretto, Lausanne, and Einsidlin. This superstition had increased prodigiously within the last generation; insomuch that there were many persons then living, and not very far advanced in age, who remembered that in their youth not a hundredth part of the images existed, which were now to be seen. In the mountainous parts of the country the number was still small, as compared with those of the other parts: indeed, says our author, so much are these idols multiplied "that, if only every ten of them consumed as much food as one sheep would do, the country could not support them." A great proportion of them also were of a kind suited to give scandal, and to excite the sensual passions rather than to inspire devotion.[1] The clergy, however, drew from them immense revenues. He knew a monastery (meaning Einsidlin,) to which more than a million of gold had been given;[2] and which possessed jewels and other costly articles, which no prince had the means of purchasing at one tenth part of their value.[3]

Zwingle's Treatise of true and false Religion. March.

But the most important, perhaps, of all Zwingle's works appeared at this time. This was his "Treatise of true and false Religion."[4] It was composed at the request of various learned persons in France and Italy, to explain the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, as well as to expose the errors of popery; and, by the advice of his friends in the former country, the author dedicated it to the French king, Francis I. This great work, though it contains some things justly thought excep-

[1] Melancthon makes the same complaint, in strong terms.
[2] "Plus d'un million d'or."
[3] Ru. i. 292-294. Gerd. ii. 284-288. Zuing. Op. i. fo. 226-264.
[4] Zuing. Op. ii. fo. 158—242.

tionable, is yét "a noble monument of the author's piety, learning, and intellectual powers, as well as a decisive proof of the blessed recovery of Christian truth in Switzerland at that time."[1] In a future chapter we propose to give a more particular account of it: for the present we only add, that Zwingle, having given offence by calling original sin a *disease*, or *malady*, added an Apology, or defence of his work, addressed to Urban Regius, then a pastor of Augsburg. Ruchat remarks, that he was certainly wronged on this subject, since, though he uses the term just noticed, he yet maintains, "that fallen man is naturally inclined to hate God and the will of God, and that this inclination is deserving of eternal death."[2] But this subject also will hereafter claim a share of our attention. A. D. 1525.

In an appendix to this work Zwingle again discussed the subject of the eucharist and the mass; justly considering the doctrine of the corporal presence as the source of the grossest errors and superstitions. Happily, whatever differences might subsist between him and the German divines upon this subject, his colleagues in Switzerland were nearly unanimous in their agreement with him respecting it: and the time had now arrived for establishing at Zuric a reformation in the mode of celebrating of that ordinance, in which the Saviour had commanded his disciples to commemorate his sacrifice of himself for their redemption. Ever since the last disputation, the council had been resolved to abolish the superstitious rites of the mass, as soon as the public mind should appear to be prepared for the change. In consequence Abolition of the Mass at Zuric.

[1] Dr. Milner, V. 400. (994.)
[2] Ru. i. 299. Mel. Ad. in Regio, i. 34.

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of the preaching of the reformed ministers, and the orders already promulgated, the mass had fallen into great neglect. At length, on the eleventh of April, the three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Leo Jude, accompanied by Megander, chaplain of the hospital, and Myconius preacher in the abbey church, presented themselves before the council, and demanded that the mass, having been long since proved to be contrary to scripture, and full of idolatry, should be formally abolished, and the celebration of the eucharist according to Christ's holy institution substituted in its place! The demand was strongly opposed by the under secretary of the council, Joachim Am-Grut— who apologized for his interference, on the ground of its being not a civil or political question, but one that concerned the salvation of the soul. He charged Zwingle's interpretations of scripture, particularly in understanding the words "This is my body." to mean This *represents* my body, with being sophistical and unsound. Zwingle defended his sentiments; and Engelhardt ("formerly," says Zwingle, "a doctor of the pontifical law, but now a humble disciple of Christ,") shewed the different senses in which the term, "the body of Christ," is used in scripture: 1. For his infirm human body, liable to hunger, fatigue, and suffering: 2. For his glorified body, in which he now sits at the right hand of God: and 3. For his mystical body, the church; and that according to none of these senses could the body of Christ be literally eaten in the supper: and he further expostulated against the doctrine as at once a most pernicious and most foolish error, founded on a mode of interpreting scripture, in which the usage of language and all common sense

Am-Grut.

were equally disregarded; and also our Lord's own intimation of his meaning, when, speaking of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, he guards us against a carnal or literal interpretation, and says, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life."[1]—The council ordered four of its members and the above-named clergy to consult together on the course to be pursued. They deferred their report no longer than till the next day, when they recommended to the council the immediate abolition of the mass. Am-Grut again opposed, and urged against the instances which Zwingle had adduced of IS being used for *signifies* or *represents*, that they all occurred in parables—"the seed *is* the word"—"the field *is* the world"—and others; and that they were therefore not satisfactory. Zwingle denied that this was the case: they occurred, he said, *after* the parables, in the *explanation* of them. He also distinguished between parables, in which particular words occurred according to their customary usage, and tropes or metonymies, which bestow on terms a new or borrowed sense.—The council the same day passed a decree conformable to the recommendation of their commissioners, abolishing the mass, and ordering the eucharist to be thenceforward celebrated according to the institution of Christ, and the apostolical practice. The altars were accordingly removed from the churches, and replaced by communion tables; a regular order for the administration of the eucharist was drawn up and published; and scandalous offenders were ordered to be excluded from communicating, till they re-

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April 12.

[1] John vi. 63.

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formed their lives: and upon this plan the sacrament of the Lord's supper began to be celebrated at Zuric on Thursday in passion week, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday, 1525.

The change gave great satisfaction to the citizens in general; and numbers, we are told, who had before absented themselves from the mass, unable to credit its monstrous absurdities, and yet trembling to approach it without an unwavering faith in them, now received Christ's holy sacrament with pacified consciences and thankful hearts. The comparatively small number of dissentients were allowed, though not to celebrate mass in any of the churches of the city, yet to attend it at Einsidlin or other places in the neighbourhood, if they pleased. Here appears to have been the only faulty part of the proceeding. Those, who still professed conscientiously (however erroneous their conscience,) to adhere to the mass, should have been allowed without restraint to celebrate it among themselves. The rulers of Zuric, though fully persuaded that the mass was an idolatrous ceremony, were not called so to make their faith the rule for other men's consciences, as to refuse them the rites of their religion, unless they would travel to a distance from home in order to enjoy them. It may be doubted whether they were armed (as the Jewish government was,) with a commision to put down even avowed idolatry within their territories, had any claimed to practise it, without molesting others; still less, then, an observance which those, who contended for it, denied to be idolatry.[1] The proper language of a govern-

Toleration.

[1] "The only shadow of doubt is, whether direct, outward, gross idolatry ought to be tolerated. And here I should

ment, in giving a religious establishment to their country, seems to be simply of this kind: 'This is what approves itself to our judgments and consciences; and what we shall, therefore, provide for having taught to our people: we invite, and shall welcome, the concurrence of all who can agree with us: others we leave to pursue the course which shall approve itself to their consciences; reminding them only of their responsibility to God for the choice they may make.' And what beyond this, I would ask, is the spirit of our own religious establishment, at least as now administered?[1] But the distinctions here implied were little understood in the times of which we are writing. A. D. 1525.

But, though Zwingle had satisfied his hearers by his answer to the secretary Am-Grut, yet some shade of dissatisfaction rested upon his own mind, from his having been able to produce no instances of the required use of the verb *to be*, but such as were more or less associated with parables. And this circumstance is connected with an incident in his history, which, as it is related by himself, has been taken a very unfair advantage of by those who were opposed to him, either generally, or on the doctrine of the sacrament. The subject, he tells us, occupied his mind during the day: and, having employed his waking thoughts, it Zwingle's dream.

incline to the affirmative, as nothing occurs to the contrary in the New Testament; and the command to punish idolaters was confined to those of Israel, and was a part of their political and judicial law." Works of the Rev. T. Scott, ix. 620.

[1] "His opinion had always been, that there should be in this country an established church.... giving to all other religions a toleration hardly knowing a limit."—Earl of Eldon, contending against the Roman-catholic claims, 1829.

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also mingled with those of the night. In a dream, he imagined himself again engaged in dispute with the secretary, and somewhat embarrassed by his objection, which he could recollect no instance directly to rebut; when, suddenly, he says, "a monitor seemed to stand by me, (whether he was white or black, I do not at all remember—for I am relating a dream,) who said, 'Simple man, why do you not answer him from the twelfth chapter of Exodus, *It* (the lamb) *is the Lord's passover*'" —his *passing over* the children of Israel. "Immediately," he proceeds, "I awoke, and sprang out of bed: I examined the words in the Septuagint, and (the next day) publicly discoursed upon them, with so much success as to remove every doubt from the minds of all who sought to understand the scriptures: and such sacraments followed," on the three days above mentioned, "as I never at any other time witnessed."

Whether the instance thus adduced is more satisfactory than the others; or whether any one more satisfactory needed to be adduced; or to what precise source we are to trace the occurrence to Zwingle's mind of this passage, which had been previously overlooked: these are not the questions which we are now called to examine. However it may be accounted for, there are, I apprehend, few reflecting persons who have not found instances, in which subjects that had previously much engaged their thoughts have been presented to them during sleep, or at the very moment of awaking out of sleep, in even a clearer light than at any other time: and any such person might, on an occasion of that kind, as innocently as Zwingle did, have used his words—

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"Ater an albus ille monitor, nihil memini—" without intending to refer their thoughts immediately to the agency of either a good spirit or an evil one. Erasmus, in his book of Adages, shews that the words in question have been, from ancient times, used as a proverbial expression, merely equivalent to this, "I can give no account of the matter;" and in that sense Zwingle himself *frequently* uses them. Most unjustly therefore has he been charged with profanely intimating, that, on the present occasion, he was assisted indeed by immediate inspiration, but that he knew not, and scarcely cared to know, whether it were a *black* inspiration, or one of heavenly origin. Nay, just as in Luther's case, with respect to his having been, as it is pretended, "taught by the devil that the mass is no sacrifice," so here some have affected to treat Zwingle's whole doctrine of the sacrament as confessedly thus communicated to him; whereas he had taught that doctrine long before, and now speaks of nothing more than this single text, in reply to the cavil of Am-Grut, having occurred to him in the manner which he describes. But the fact is, that Zwingle neither ascribes a suggestion, which proved so useful to him, to an evil source, nor even leaves us in any doubt as to the source to which he thought it was to be ascribed. Directly or indirectly it is, in his opinion, to be referred to God. "I relate the truth," he says, "and that such a truth that my conscience compels me, whatever reluctance I may feel, (as being well aware of the ridicule to which it may expose me,) to avow what THE LORD *hath imparted to me*." All therefore that he meant by the expression, of which

(Ater an albus.)

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such unwarranted use has been made, was, to say that "the monitor" in his dream did not appear to him to be one whom he knew at the time, or of whom he had now any recollection —"nihil memini."

But one can hardly avoid here recognizing somewhat of retribution. The Lutherans were one party who were willing to insinuate, that Zwingle had acknowledged himself to have derived his doctrine of the sacrament from an *infernal* source: and concerning *their* illustrious founder it is, that it has been much more industriously circulated, and much more widely believed,[1] that he had confessed his having received his doctrine, upon the self-same subject, from the same evil source! Let us beware how we mete out to others hard measure and unrighteous judgment, lest "with what judgment we judge we should ourselves be judged," and "with what measure we mete, it should be measured to us again.[2]"

In his work on the canon of the mass, two years before, Zwingle had proposed a new canon, or formulary, to be substituted for that which he demonstrated to be surcharged with absurdity and impiety: but, in the near prospect of the changes now made, he, in his correspondence with his friends, thanks God that his proposal had not been adopted, as it would but have palliated the evil which required, and was now likely, to be entirely eradicated.[3]

[1] Vol. i. App. No. 3.

[2] Ru. i. 300—306. Gerd. i. 318—327, and Doc. No. 24. Zwingle's own account is to be found in his works, vol. ii. 247—249. He afterwards discusses the passage of Exodus, the parallel between the Lord's supper and the passover, and the omission of the verb substantive in the Hebrew, though it is found in the Septuagint.

[3] Œc. et Z. Epist. fo. 117. To confirm the minds of the

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The subversion of "the grand idol" of the mass must be considered, if not as a crowning act, yet as an event so decisive as to mark an epoch in the reformation of Zuric. The establishment of a consistorial court, for the decision of matrimonial and other causes, which had hitherto been carried before the bishop of Constance, soon followed, and served at once to relieve the citizens from burdensome exactions and delays, and still further to break their connexion with the Romish hierarchy.—

Establishment of a Consistory.

More convents also were now surrendered. There were in the canton two abbies of canons regular, that of Embrach and that of Ruti. Henry Brenwald, the provost of the former, with the consent of his chapter, surrendered it into the hands of the magistrates. The abbot of the other, Felix Kuser, fled in the night to Rapperswyl, taking with him the writings and all the moveable treasures of the abbey. This led to some disorders. The country people pursued him, deprived him of his booty, and pillaged the abbey.

Surrender of religious houses.

We may here notice an important measure, of which the first step was about this time taken, and which in Switzerland, as well as in Germany, produced the most powerful and

Translation of the scriptures.

wavering, and to remove any scruples which might still linger with the weak, as well as to supply any omissions into which the hurry of the times might have betrayed him, he now published his "Subsidium sive Coronis de Eucharistia:" Op. ii. fo. 243—255. He complains, in his prefatory address, of the circumstances in which he was placed compelling him to appear in print again and again, and to break all his purposes of seeking retirement, and opportunity for more fully maturing what he brought before the public; "Quo fit," he says, "ut omnia nostra impetus justius appelles, quam libros." This was exactly the complaint which Luther made. See vol. i. 523-4.

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permanent effects. I refer to the giving of the scriptures to the people in the vulgar tongue. Luther had, in the year 1523, published the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament, translated from the original Hebrew into the German language. The divines of Zuric now revised his translation, adapted it to the Swiss dialect of the German, and printed it in 1525. With the rest of the sacred writings they proceeded for themselves, and published the remainder of the Old Testament in 1529, and the whole together, revised, in 1531. Leo Jude and Caspar Megander had the principal share in the work: but Zwingle himself, and some others also bore a part in it. About the same time an anabaptist teacher, a man of learning, published a translation of the Prophets from the original; and to the general fidelity of his version the learned men of Zuric bore honourable testimony.—Luther's translation of the Old Testament was not completed till two years after that of the Swiss reformers.[1]

Unfavourable events.

The mention of the anabaptist translator (though honourable with respect to him individually,) may lead us to advert to three lamentable events which occurred about this time, and materially impeded the progress of the reformation. These were, the rustic war, or extensive rebellion of the peasants in Germany, which was accompanied with some movements of the same kind, though comparatively slight, in Switzerland; the sacramentarian controversy, which arose between Luther and Zwingle, and which has ever since divided their followers; and the prevalence of the extravagant doctrines and practices of the

[1] Ru. i. 297-8; Gerd i. 327-8.

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fanatical anabaptists. On none of these painful subjects, however, need we enlarge. They have all been treated of at sufficient length for the purposes of this history, in Dr. Milner's part of the work. We only here then remark, with respect to the last mentioned of these evils which infested the church, that we have not yet arrived at that period at which my excellent predecessor finds reason to censure the intolerance of Zwingle and of the council of Zuric. Hitherto the disorders of the anabaptists had drawn upon them nothing beyond gentle chastisement in the reformed cantons, though in the popish states some of them had suffered a cruel death.[1]

[1] Ruchat, i. 277—291. Gerd. ii. 316—318. Milner, v. 496, 504—514. (1095, 1104—1114.) Zwingle published his treatise "De Baptismo" (I believe his first work on the subject,) in May, 1525.—The assertion of the fair translator of Hess's Life of Zwingle, that, "had not the fanatics rendered adult baptism the badge of their sect, Zwingle would apparently have embraced it, as most conformable to the scriptural notion of that rite," may perhaps convey her own sentiments concerning the disputed question of baptism, but that it states a fact concerning the reformer I find no reason to believe. I apprehend it to be a mere gratuitous assumption. The three theses maintained by Zwingle at the great disputation with the anabaptists in November, 1525, at which Joner of Cappel, Schmidt of Kusnacht, Hoffmeister of Schaffhausen, and Vadian of S. Gallen, presided, were "1. That infants born of believing parents are the children of God, as they were under the Old Testament: 2. That baptism under the New Testament is the same thing with circumcision under the Old: 3. That the practice of re-baptizing cannot be supported from scripture; and that they who are re-baptized crucify Jesus Christ afresh." The last clause must be acknowledged to be a strange addition.

I cannot but express a hope and belief, that the very painful sentence which Dr. Milner (v. (1126,) 526,) quotes from one of Zwingle's latest works—"Cum interim somniantes Catabaptistæ merito somnium dormiant *apud inferos*, a quo nunquam expergefiant"—does not convey the dreadful

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Though, then, we close the present chapter with an allusion to painful facts, we must remember with thankfulness that the general course of the events which it details is highly gratifying, and such as leaves the cause of the reformation in a very promising degree of establishment in Switzerland.

idea of consigning them to the everlasting *pains of* "HELL," but only that of somewhat indefinitely abandoning them to that *sleep* of the soul for which they foolishly contended. It does not need to be made *worse* than it really is.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS OF THE SWISS REFORMATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1527.

WE have brought down the history of the reformation of Zuric to the middle of the year 1525. Let us now cast our eyes around upon the neighbouring cantons, and review the progress which the same work was making in them. We shall notice only those places where, though powerful opposition might be offered, it was eventually overcome, and some decisive success at length obtained. A. D. 1525. Progress of the reformation—

Berne may first claim our attention. Here the advance was at present but slow. In April, 1524, the council, in consequence of the deviations from established usage which had taken place, published an edict forbidding the clergy to marry, on pain of deprivation; as also the eating of meat in lent, and speaking against the invocation of the saints. At the same time, however, they required the priests to put away their concubines, under a like penalty: and they assured the people of Zuric of their friendly disposition towards them.—The bishop of Lausanne having liberated an impostor, whom the council had imprisoned for selling fictitious indulgences, they expostulated very freely with him: and, when he attempted to exact an impost from the priests of Morat out at Berne;

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of the profits of the masses there celebrated, they plainly told him that they would not suffer it to be paid.—Disputes frequently arose in the city, on account of the contrary doctrines preached by the friends and the opponents of the reformation. Heim, a Dominican, having said in the pulpit, "that Jesus Christ had not, according to the dogmas of the new evangelists, alone made satisfaction for us, but that each one must make it for himself;" two of his hearers exclaimed, that he taught false doctrine. The offenders were committed to prison; and the council caused both them, and Heim, and Sebastian Meyer,[1] the reformer, to be brought before them; and, having heard the two latter dispute together for some time, they resolved, in hope of promoting the peace of the city, to banish them both from it. Meyer retired to Basle:[2] but Haller still continued to prosecute his labours at Berne. In the month of November, the council renewed, for substance, their two former edicts, commanding that the gospel should be faithfully preached, but that at the same time the customary observances should be retained. They, however, in this edict, made light of papal excommunication, and of dispensations and indulgences granted for money; observing, that "what was lawful on the payment of money could not be unlawful without it." But they deprived three canons for marrying—or rather *two* of them; for the third, Thuring Rust, abbot of Troub, voluntarily resigned his preferment in order to marry; and supported himself by a mechanical trade, till on the establishment of the reformation he became minister of Laupersvyl.[3]

[1] Above, p. 382, 423. [2] Gerd. ii. 263 (c).
[3] Ru. i. 218—226. Gerd. ii. 262—264.

In the former part of the ensuing year, the proceedings of the council were more decidedly favourable. As before observed, they adopted, but with considerable improvements, the scheme of reformation proposed by the Roman-catholic cantons.[1] In doing this, they allowed every one to think and act as he pleased respecting the recitation of the canonical hours, the doctrine of purgatory, and some other particulars: they resolved not to deprive married priests: they forbad absolutely the sale of indulgences, and the admission of strangers, sent by the court of Rome, to benefices: and, "as the bishops and other ecclesiastical judges did not punish offending churchmen as they deserved, but rather connived at their crimes, (by which means wickedness daily increased, and disturbed the good order of society,)" they determined in future to punish such persons in the same manner as their lay fellow-subjects. They also sanctioned the reading of the scriptures, and of books which were conformable to them: and they concluded with enjoining the different parties to live in peace, and to abstain from mutual reproaches.—In all this we read with pleasure of what tended to open the door to the admission and diffusion of divine truth: but on the present, as on many other occasions, we have to lament that we are so much more fully informed what governments and magistrates were induced to do, than what was more directly effected by the preaching of the gospel.—Not only did a Carthusian monk, who was much respected, now surprise the people of Berne by quitting his order and marrying; but, towards the end of the year, Watteville, A. D. 1525.

[1] Above, p. 509.

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before mentioned as provost of the cathedral,[1] "a man as much esteemed for his character and learning as for his rank," voluntarily resigned his dignity and the other benefices which he held, and married a lady of the first respectability, with the consent, it is especially noticed, of her father and brothers—for, a little time before, such a marriage would have been thought impious, and therefore disgraceful. Watteville had been in favour with the pope and many prelates, and had the prospect of being himself advanced to the episcopate; but "regard to liberty of conscience," says Stetler, and, Ruchat adds also, "the love of God and of truth, and concern for his own salvation, banished from his heart ambition, the love of riches, and the hope of advancing himself in life." Zwingle congratulates him on his marriage, and speaks of his wife's father (Claude Mey) as a zealous friend of reformed principles.[2]

Mulhausen.

Mulhausen, a small independent town,[3] a member of the Swiss confederation, though situate beyond the frontiers, in Alsace, had the honour of even preceding Zuric in the abolition of the mass. In the year 1523, Ulric Hutten,[4] a friend, though a somewhat intemperate friend, of the reformation resided there: and at the same time Augustine Kremer preached the gospel zealously. The magistrates, however, at that period resisted any further changes than the following: that baptism should be administered in the vulgar tongue; that the children in the school should learn to sing the

[1] Above, p. 454. [2] Ru. i. 315—319. Gerd. ii. 291.
[3] Still protestant, and a prosperous place: its territory comprised within a precinct of eight miles. Coxe, Let. 17.
[4] Milner, v. 267, 854.

Psalms in German; that the people should receive the eucharist in both kinds; and that, in lieu of matins, they should have sermons and prayers. Even this drew upon the town an excommunication from the bishop of Basle: but the magistrates treated it with contempt.[1] The next year they required the priests either to separate from their concubines, or to marry them; and ordered a public discussion to be held, to which they invited assistance from Basle: and after the close of it they abolished the mass.[2] A. D. 1525. 1524.

Basle.

At Basle, Œcolampadius prosecuted his labours with indefatigable zeal and great success. His acknowledged talents, the evangelical purity of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life, conciliated for him the greatest veneration, and drew crowded audiences constantly to hear him; amongst whom the principles which he inculcated made a rapid progress. The number of his fellow labourers also increased. Wolfgang Weissenburg, minister of the parish of the Hospital, Mark Bersi of S. Leonard's parish, Thomas Ghierfalk, preacher of the Augustins, besides those previously mentioned,[3] are enumerated: and they were all supported by Caspar Schaller, the secretary of the government. The opposition

[1] From early times the Swiss appear to have known better than other states of Christendom how to deal with the thunders of Rome. In the year 1328, a papal excommunication issued against them being announced to the cantons, "the people asked the priests, whether they would continue to read the service, and sing the litany as usual, or else submit to immediate exile." The pope acknowledged that the priests, in making the former option, had acted wisely, though not canonically. Planta's Helvet. Confed. i. 185.

[2] Ru. i. 188, 226. Gerd. ii. 255, 267.

[3] Above. pp. 367, 418, 419.

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also made to them was powerful and acrimonious: but it proved unsuccessful.—In the

1524. early part of the year 1524, Stephen Stoer, pastor of Lichstall, having married, and finding himself exposed to much reproach on that account, offered to justify what he had done in a public disputation at Basle. In compliance with the solicitations of his parishioners, the council allowed him to do so; and Lichstall maintained theses asserting the right of the

Feb. 16. clergy to marry, and that the most fatal consequences had arisen from denying them this right. He challenged any persons on the part of the bishop, the chapter, or the university, to maintain the contrary side against him: but no person of any consequence appeared: and, in answer to questions publicly proposed by him, most of the learned persons present—Pellican, Hartmund of Cronberg,[1] Wirben of Bienne, Immelinus, Weissenberg, Wolfhardt, and others—expressed their agreement with him.

Many attempts being made, partly by friends of the reformation and partly by its enemies, to withdraw or otherwise remove Œcolampadius from Basle,[2] it was in some measure for the purpose of more fully fixing him there, that he was at this time presented to the living

1524. of S. Martin's church, of which he had served the curacy, with very little remuneration for a year past.[3] He accepted the appointment on condition that he should preach whatever he found in the scriptures, and that the popish ceremonies should be dispensed with. Accord-

[1] Milner, v. 98, 571. (673. (10).)

[2] One was from the well-known Cochlæus, who lamented that such a man should lend himself to be a ringleader in the Lutheran heresy. Mel. Ad. i. 24.

[3] Above p. 455.

ingly baptism was in his church administered in the vulgar tongue, and the eucharist given in both kinds; and he preached in so forcible a manner against the mass, purgatory, the use of holy water, the processions, and other observances or doctrines of the church of Rome, as brought them into neglect with the chaplains dependent on his church.[1] On his appointment to S. Martin's, expectations of considerable emolument were held out to him, with the prospect of further preferment: but he declined them all, declaring that he desired nothing beyond a decent subsistence. A. D. 1525.

The principal citizens now proceeded to demand of the Franciscans, that, in lieu of the numerous masses which were said, and of which the people understood nothing, they should cause "a short sermon of half an hour" to be preached to them every morning, in their church: but the monks replied, "that week-day sermons savoured of Lutheranism." The citizens, in consequence of this refusal, withheld their alms from these mendicants.—The council soon after signified to the abbess and nuns of the convent of Klingenthal, that, as their mode of life had no sanction from scripture, they were at liberty to quit the house; and that those who chose to do so should be provided for, either in married life, or in any other honest state: while those who chose to remain might do it, but must maintain a conduct free from reproach.

Early in this year, William Farel, who will hereafter claim our attention as the upright and able, though sometimes too ardent, re- Farel's visit to Basle.

[1] "Chapelains de son eglise."

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former of that part of Switzerland in which the French language is spoken, came to Basle, and in the opinion of some exposed the cause of the reformation to a degree of risk, by a proceeding for which the public mind was scarcely prepared. He professed a wish to discuss with the learned men of the place several controverted points, that if his own views of them were wrong he might be set right, or, if they were right, that he might be confirmed in them. But the heads of the university, having pronounced his theses to be heretical, would not suffer them to be publicly maintained. The council, however, consented to their being submitted to discussion. These theses asserted the sufficiency of scripture, and of the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and were directed against popish errors generally. The publication of them excited a strong sensation. The vicar-general of the bishop, with the rector and leading members of the university, forbade the students, and others dependent on them, to take any part in the discussion, under pain of expulsion and excommunication. The magistrates, regarding this prohibition as an insult offered to them, ordered the interdicted persons to attend and assist, on pain of banishment. Farel accordingly, on the fifteenth of February, maintained his theses before a numerous assembly. The Roman catholics were excessively irritated, and preached against the reformers and their proceedings with the most abusive virulence. The character of Œcolampadius, however, stood so high in the city, that they dared attempt but little against him: and in the end the magistrates published an edict, directing all preachers freely and without fear to publish the gospel to

Feb. 1524.

their people, and, generally, whatever they found taught in the holy scriptures; and to be prepared to render to every one, that courteously asked it of them, a reason, drawn from scripture, for what they taught. They prohibited also the application of abusive or reproachful terms by one party to the other. The Roman catholics, however, had sufficient influence to compel Farel to quit Basle: and it must be confessed that his appearance there does not seem to have been well-judged. It was not his proper sphere of labour; and Basle might better perhaps have been left to Œcolampadius and the other faithful labourers to whose care providence had committed it. A. D. 1525.

The year following, the government opened all the convents and religious houses, giving full liberty to those, who chose to avail themselves of it, to quit them. The divisions, however, to which these proceedings gave occasion, among the magistrates as well as among the people, were so great, that several of the reformed ministers were intimidated, and Œcolampadius was once led to complain, that he was left to labour alone. But he went forward in his work undismayed, and on All Saints' day, (November 1st,) 1525, administered the eucharist "with a simplicity that had never before been seen" in Basle. The ministers of S. Leonard's and S Alban's churches copied his example; but they were ordered to restore the mass; while the weight of Œcolampadius's character protected his procedure from all censure.—How strikingly has this meek and holy man "added to his faith virtue" (boldness,) since the time when timidity and morbid feeling impelled him to resign one situation after another, because he could not contend with Convents opened at Basle, 1525.

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prevailing evils, and with persons to whom the truth was offensive and irritating.[1]

Liberty of the press.

The magistrates now felt themselves embarrassed on the subject of the liberty of the press, which, in such a state of things, was liable to much abuse: and, in their difficulty, they had recourse to Erasmus, (who had for several years resided among them,) asking his advice on this and some other topics. He told them that he was but a stranger in Switzerland, and incompetent to advise them; that he had determined to leave Basle at the ensuing lent, in order that he might not suffer the loss of his pension from the emperor, which had not been paid him for three years past: that, in gratitude, however, for the kindness which he had received among them, he would offer such suggestions as he could. With regard then to the press, he thought it not good that they should allow all works to be printed indiscriminately, but that they might suffer those of Pellican and Œcolampadius to pass without restraint.—Respecting images, chanting, and chrism, he regarded them as things indifferent; and was of opinion that it would be for the peace of Switzerland that Zuric should restore the mass and images, till the decision of a general council could be had concerning them: yet that war ought not to be waged against that state if it refused to do this. The pope might easily, he thought, be induced to allow communion in both kinds, and the eating of meat in lent; since in Italy dispensations for the latter practice might always be purchased. Such inhabitants of convents, as were incapable of maintaining themselves, had better, he said, remain where they

Advice of Erasmus.

[1] Above, p. 375—377.

were: and, for others, an imperial edict or a council might set them at liberty, and also give permission to priests to marry.[1]—Such was the amount of the advice which the sage Erasmus, who was then, and has by many subsequently been esteemed the oracle of Christendom, had to offer: and it will doubtless be approved by all, who think that the objects for which the reformers contended were not of such importance, that it was worth risking the peace of society to secure them; or that the whole dispute was to be settled by awarding concessions first on the one side and then on the other; and reposing with unsuspecting confidence on the wisdom and equity of imperial diets, and on a council to be held when the pope and the princes of Europe could agree to its convocation. A. D. 1525.

At S. Gallen considerable progress was made, through the zealous ministry of John Kesler, lately returned from Wittemberg, and Wolfgang Ulman, late a monk of Coire; and under the prudent management of the council, who now, after the example of Zuric, caused the images to be withdrawn from the churches without noise or tumult. They likewise published a decree, requiring the preachers to teach conformably to the scriptures alone. A visit also, which Leo Jude and Sebastian Hoffman made to the city, is said to have been very serviceable.[2] S. Gallen. 1524.

[1] Scultet. 68, 69. Mel. Ad. i. 24. Ru. i. 226—238, 319—323. Gerd. ii. 268—272, 293—296. It was just at this period that Erasmus bore the high testimony, quoted by Dr. Milner, to Œcolampadius's book on the words, "This is my body": but at the same time he wrote to his friends, that "the manners of the teachers of religion at Basle offended him more than their doctrines." Gerd. ii. 293—295.

[2] Scult. 70. Ru. i. 238. Gerd ii. 266-7.

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In Appenzel, the general assembly of the people decreed, that the ministers should preach nothing which they could not support from the scriptures, on pain of banishment; that abuses should be abolished, but not the good and laudable rites of the church. The reformation had here many partizans, among both the clergy and the laity. The mass, in consequence of the decree just mentioned, suffered some intermission, but was restored again till the year 1526: when both it and images were abolished throughout that part of the canton, amounting to about two thirds of the whole, which still belongs to the reformed.[1]

Appenzel.

1524. May.

The Rheinthal.

From Appenzel the light of the gospel penetrated into the Rheinthal, chiefly through the agency of some pious women: but, complaints being made of this to the ancient cantons, who, with Appenzel, were lords of the country, the majority of them ordered the bailiff to seize every Lutheran whom he could find there. The check, however, was temporary, and the reformation afterwards made progress, and was established in the country.[2]

Schaffhausen.

At Schaffhausen the reformation made important advances in the year 1524. There were at that place two considerable abbeys, one for men, the other for women. The abbot of the former, after due consultation with the members of the house, surrendered it to the magistrates, desiring that, after the necessary allowances had been made to the present inmates, the surplus of the funds might be applied to the support of the churches, schools, and the poor. The abbess followed his example. He himself married in the year 1529, and lived, it is said,

[1] Ru. i. 239, 240, 395. Gerd. ii. 272, 324.
[2] Ru. i. 241, 394. Gerd. ii. 273, 324.

in a very pious manner, constantly blessing God for the reformation.—The council, in their proceedings had recourse to the advice of Œcolampadius, and they now gave to Ritter (before mentioned, [1]) Wolfgang Biderman of Rothvyl, Beatus Guering of Zuric, and Benedict Burgawer of S. Gallen, for his coadjutors. Some heady and indiscreet friends of the reformation, however, much prejudiced its cause by taking upon them, of their own authority, to break and throw down images; by which they incurred fines and imprisonment, or banishment. The bishop of Constance availed himself of the circumstance, to entreat the citizens to return to that dutiful obedience to the church, which could alone secure their tranquillity. But the magistrates replied, that there was nothing which they more earnestly desired, than to have the pure word of God preached to them.—The next year still more disturbance was excited, which would hardly have been quieted without bloodshed, but for the timely interference of the deputies of Basle and Rothvyl, who happened to be present in the town. These disorders issued in the dismissal of Hoffmeister and Hoffman, and the progress of the reformation for the time received a check at Schaffhausen. [2] So much do men obstruct, or even forfeit, the objects of their desire, by aiming to seize them in a rash and improper manner.

A. D. 1525.

1525.

At Bienne, Wyttenbach, who had not yet passed his fifty-second year, married in 1524, and his example was followed by several other priests; who also joined him in omitting the celebration of private masses—or masses in

Bienne.

[1] Above p. 475.

[2] Ru. i. 241—243, 307-8, 394-5. Gerd. ii. 265-6, 288-9.

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which the people were only spectators. But the attention of the cantons being called to these facts by Lewis Sterner, secretary of the government of Bienne, and a zealous papist, they strongly censured the council of that place for not having deposed the offenders, pronouncing the conduct of these persons, in contracting marriage, to be antichristian and subversive of religion. Wyttenbach submitted to the council a written defence of himself and his brethren, in which he mainly argues as a pastor, bound by his fidelity to contend for the principles of God's word against the impositions of men. But, in compliance with the demand of the cantons, the married clergy were deprived. We are told, however, that Wyttenbach continued to preach as successfully in a convent as he had done in the church, and by his meekness, benevolence, and piety increased in general esteem; while his adversary, Sterner drew upon himself disgust and hatred.

1523. The next year, therefore, when the council required of the burghers a renewal of their oaths of fidelity, they, in return, presented several demands to the council, among which were the following: that the word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, should be freely preached to them: that Dr. Wyttenbach should be restored, should preach in the principal church on sundays and holidays, and should have a liberal salary assigned him: that a competent schoolmaster should be appointed, who might train their children in Christian knowledge: that public immoralities should be restrained: and that masses for the dead should be discontinued, as unsupported by the scriptures, and of no use. The council

yielded to these demands: but the cantons, assembled at Lucerne, wrote to the bishop of Basle, who possessed a nominal sovereignty over Bienne,[1] requesting him to interpose both as a prince and a bishop. His efforts, however, were feeble: the Bernese encouraged the people of Bienne: the obnoxious secretary consulted his safety by flight; though he was afterwards restored: and the magistrates proceeded to abolish the mass, and apparently to follow in the steps of Zuric. Nor did the threats which the cantons subsequently addressed to them, on account of the encouragement which they gave to "the infamous and abominable Lutheran or Zwinglian sect and heresy," induce them to alter their course. A. D. 1525. November.

Wyttenbach died two years after, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. This excellent man, a short time before his death, caused the principal members of the council to be called to his bedside, and told them, "that he looked for nothing else than to die very soon, and to go to give account to God of the ministry which had been committed to him." He solemnly declared his conviction "that he had preached to them nothing but the truth, and exhorted them to hold it fast, and suffer nothing to turn them aside from it; assuring them that thus they might depend on attaining eternal life."—He was succeeded by James Wirben, formerly a Franciscan monk.[2] Death of Wyttenbach. 1526.

The Tockenburg was the native country of Zwingle. It acknowledged the abbot of S. Gallen for its temporal lord. The reformed The Tockenburg.

[1] "A protestant state under the nominal sovereignty of a Roman-catholic bishop." Coxe, Let. 19

[2] Ru. i. 185, 243—250; 323—326, 403—408. Gerd. ii. 253-4, 297-8, 334-5.

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doctrine was introduced into this district by Maurice Miles, John Dœring, and Blaise Farer, respectively pastors of Watvyl, Hemberg, and
1524. Zum Stein. The council, at the request of the people of the country, ordered that the ministers should preach uniformly according to the purity of the gospel, without the addition of human dogmas and ordinances. The bishop of Constance complained of the innovators to the abbot of S. Gallen, and the abbot forwarded his complaints to the council; who, in consequence, summoned the preachers before them. The preachers pleaded that they had only acted in conformity with the decree which had been promulgated; and the council admitted their plea, and renewed the former order. The council of Schweitz, which canton had a special alliance with Tockenburg, wrote to them with vehemence against the doctrine of Luther and
July. Zwingle, holding out threats if they continued to encourage it: but they sent the letter to Zwingle, begging him to answer it, and defend his countrymen; which he did with zeal and
1525. spirit.[1] The following year the mass was abolished in four parishes. Schweitz and Glaris made great efforts to compel their neighbours to retrace their steps: but in vain. Some of the council, indeed, were intimidated; but the majority stood firm, and resolved to take the opinion of the several communities of the country; and these unanimously resolved to adhere to the word of God, and begged the council to support the orders they had already issued—which were accordingly republished.[2]

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 149—151.

[2] Ru. i. 250—252, 327-8, 394-5, 482-3. Gerd. ii. 274—276, 324, 350-1.

A. D. 1525.

Some disposition in favour of the reformation had manifested itself in Thurgau, when the deputies of five out of the seven cantons,[1] then lords of that district, assembled at Frauenfeld, ordered the priests throughout the country to retain and strictly observe all the usages of the church, under pain of deprivation and other severe penalties. Notwithstanding this order, several parishes by degrees renounced the popish doctrines and practices; the inhabitants going to hear the reformed preachers at Constance, Stein on the Rhine, Elk, and other places, and taking their children to be baptized by them. Even the inmates of the nunnery of Munsterlingen, near the lake of Constance, went to hear the preachers at Constance, disregarded the prohibition of meats, and gave other indications of casting off the old superstitions.[2]

Thurgau. 1525.

The Grisons.

The government of the Grisons, in the year 1524, imitated the example of the popish cantons, who, it has been seen, enacted or rather proposed laws for the reformation of the clergy, as a means of checking the progress of innovation. In a diet held at Ilantz, the capital of the Grey League, it was decreed, among other particulars, that parish priests should discharge their duty in instructing the people according to the word of God; and that, if they failed of doing this, or were found incompetent to do it, the parishioners should have liberty to choose others in their stead. In this and the following year, the inhabitants

[1] The ancient cantons with the exception of Berne—which has since been admitted to a share of the sovereignty. Stamheim, the residence of the Wirths, was within the limits of Thurgau.

[2] Ru. i. 253, 330—332, 394. Gerd. ii. 324.

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of the valley of S. Anthony, of Flesch, and of Malantz, in the high jurisdiction of Mayenfeld, though surrounded by powerful neighbours addicted to the principles of the Romish church, embraced with one consent the reformed doctrine, and abolished the mass. This produced so strong an impression, that within a short time the new doctrine began to be preached by many priests, and was eagerly listened to by the people in various places throughout the three Leagues. Among these preachers, the most distinguished were Andrew Sigfrid and Andrew Fabritz, at Davos, the chief town of the Ten Jurisdictions; and, in the League of God's House, James Tuschet, or Biveroni, (before mentioned,[1]) in Upper Engadina; Philip Salutz, or Gallitz, in Lower Engadina; and John Dorfman, or Comander, who, in pursuance of the late regulation of the diet, had been chosen parson of S. Martin's at Coire. The two last afterwards became colleagues in that city. "Comander was a man of learning, sound judgment, and warm piety. To these qualities Gallitz added great dexterity in the management of public business, an invincible command of temper, and uncommon eloquence both in his native tongue and in Latin.[2]" More than forty learned and zealous men are enumerated, who preached the gospel faithfully in this country, encountering persecution, and several of them sacrificing very considerable prospects in life, for the sake of it.

Comander.

Gallitz.

J. Frick.

"The conversion of John Frick, parish priest

[1] Above, p. 420.

[2] M'Crie.—"He preached with so much grace and force, that he seemed not merely to speak to his hearers, but to imprint upon their hearts whatever he said." Ru. i. 274.

of Mayenfeld, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions when they first made their appearance. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress which he saw them making in his immediate neighbourhood, he repaired to Rome to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult on the best method of preventing his native country being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, returning home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfeld. In his old age he used to say to his friends pleasantly, that he learned the gospel at Rome."—In the mean time the clergy, roused from their slumbers, had recourse to every means in their power to check the progress of the new opinions. "Bonds of adherence to the catholic faith were exacted from the parish priests. The most odious and horrid representations of the reformers and their tenets were circulated among the people." Anabaptists, banished from Switzerland, were encouraged, that by their extravagances the reformation might be disgraced. When the general diet of the Grison republic met at Coire, in the year 1525, the bishop (Paul Ziegler) and clergy presented a formal accusation against Comander and the other reformed preachers, to the number of forty, praying that they might be punished by the secular arm for propagating impious, scandalous, and seditious heresies. Comander, in the name of his brethren, declared his readiness to vindicate his doctrines against these

A. D. 1525.

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Disputation of Ilantz. Jan. 1526.

charges: in consequence of which a day was appointed for a conference, or disputation between the two parties, at Ilantz, in the presence of certain members of the diet. On this occasion the reformed were assisted by Hoffmeister and James Amman, professor of Greek at Zuric. The vicar general of the bishop of Coire, the abbot of S. Lucius in that city, a protonotary of the apostolic see, and numerous canons and priests, and many persons from distant parts attended; but, as usual, the Roman catholics endeavoured to evade discussion, and cried out against recurrence to the Greek and Hebrew scriptures as unnecessary, and productive of disorders; and the conference was abruptly broken off. But the result was decidedly favourable. An accession of seven fresh names was made to the number of reformed preachers; the articles which had been submitted for discussion, being printed, and circulated through the valleys, multiplied converts among the laity; henceforth the free exercise of the reformed as well as of the catholic religion was granted throughout the three Leagues; and the consequence was the permanent establishment of the reformation in the country.[1] Some difficulties indeed followed soon after, owing to an article for the maintenance of the ancient religion, which the bishop had sufficient influence to have inserted in a treaty, and under colour of which Gallitz, "whose talents and success rendered him pecu-

[1] Ru. i. 273—275, 408—416. Gerd. ii. 283-4, 292, 300—305. M'Crie's Ref. in Italy, 313—317. Hoffmeister published the Acts of the Disputation of Ilantz. One of the questions proposed by the Roman-catholic advocates on this occasion was, Why in Matt. xvi. Christ had changed the gender from *Petrus* to *Petra*.

liarly obnoxious to the abettors of popery," was banished, and "several of his brethren were obliged to retire from the country to avoid the processes intended against them. But the city of Coire, in spite of their bishop, maintained Comander in his situation: this example was followed in other places; and, though the clergy endeavoured to push the advantage which they had gained, they found that a spirit was abroad in the nation too powerful for all their efforts." A statute, which "remains to this day the charter of religious liberty in the Grisons, was formally sealed and solemnly confirmed by the oaths of all the deputies at Ilantz, on the 26th of June, 1526:" and "a national reformation was introduced, which so far as it went must have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the state, and to individuals whether popish or protestant."[1] A. D. 1526.

Proceedings of Zuric and the Cantons

We now return to the affairs of Zuric. It has been seen that the six cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Friburg, had renounced all communication with that of Zuric, and determined no more to meet its deputies in the diet, till the changes it had made in religion should be revoked: and that, the other six cantons, Berne, Glaris, Basle, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had undertaken to mediate between the parties. The discharge of this office now much engaged the attention of these cantons: but so determined was the hostility of the Roman catholics, 1525.

[1] I have added these sentences from Dr. M'Crie's interesting volume, pp. 317—323, where the reader may find further notices of some of the persons concerned in these transactions; particularly John Travers, who was "equally distinguished as a soldier and a scholar, a politician and a divine." Comander continued his labours till the year 1557. Gerd. ii. 283.

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that there appeared no probability of propitiating them, unless Zuric would consent to re-establish the mass. A proposition to this effect was therefore made by the mediators to the council of Zuric, though it was suggested that their subjects might be left at liberty to attend the service or not as they pleased. The council, in reply, thanked their friends for their zeal to serve them, but urged that they had made no change except, as they apprehended, under the direction of the word of God: they could not therefore retrace their steps unless they were convinced of their error from the same sacred authority: but they earnestly besought the cantons to send as many learned men, versed in the scriptures, as they pleased, to Zuric, to confer with their divines, that it might be discovered on which side truth was to be found. This reply still further irritated the hostile cantons—which were moreover stirred up against Zuric by the bishop of Constance and his vicar, Faber, who were indignant at the loss of the emoluments which they had been accustomed to derive from that canton. Eckius also, at Faber's instigation wrote to the cantons a most inflammatory address, exhorting them to exterminate "the new, false, and blasphemous heresy," and offering to dispute before them with Zwingle and Œcolampadius. On some further proceedings of the cantons, Berne renewed its application to Zuric in favour of the restoration of the mass. Other points, they said, might be passed over, but this appeared to be indispensable; and they conjured the council to consider the danger to which they exposed a country, on which no foreign power had been able to make any impression while it remained

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united, but whose divisions would inspire its enemies with the hope of accomplishing their wishes against it. The council replied in a determined and magnanimous manner, by a deputation to Berne, appealing to their known faithful adherence to all their engagements to their allies of the confederation, and to the repeated offers they had made either to justify what they had done, and to submit to conviction from the word of God. They urged that it was not the right of the several cantons to interfere with one another in matters of internal regulation, like that now in question; and that, if the other states had resolved to renounce their alliance because they followed their consciences, they must submit to it, and refer the matter to that God in whose name all their treaties purported to be made. To the argument that their forefathers had ever observed the mass, and had prospered under the religion they professed, and that it was not to be supposed they had all perished in error, they replied, That they must leave their ancestors to the merciful judgment of God: that, as they had acted with a good intention, and in the want of better knowledge, it was to be hoped that their error had not prejudiced their salvation: but, for themselves, on whom the light of truth had shone, and who were assured that the mass was contrary to the word of God, it would be in the highest degree criminal, to restore so flagrant a profanation, after they had once abolished it. The lords of Berne were pleased with the frankness and force of this reply; and promised to use their utmost efforts to induce the six cantons to relinquish their hostility. And they kept their promise: for, when the cantons, soon

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after assembled at Lucerne, had formed the resolution of compelling the people of Thurgau, and others to restore the old superstition, the Bernese informed them, that it was their determination to adhere to their alliances, and that they would not desert the people of Zuric; that they would not agree to their exclusion from the general diet; and, in short, that they would give them no molestation. They also exhorted the cantons to use no violence towards Thurgau; but, if they thought the people there had violated their duty, to proceed against them in that legal way which their constitution had provided.—All this was highly honourable both to Zuric and to Berne; and shewed, on the part of the latter, a great progress towards that decided stand which it eventually made in favour of the reformation.—Indeed at the com-
1525. mencement of this year the council had shewn that they were no more to be moved by the censures and excommunications of the pope, than they now were by the violence of any of their allies.—It may be observed also, that Haller, (the reformer of Berne,) having become more fully enlightened on the subject of the eucharist, by the controversial writings which had passed upon it between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans, (and in which he fully concurred with Zwingle and Œcolampadius,) would no more celebrate the mass after the Christmas of the present year.[2]

Circumstances also at this time led to the formation of an alliance between Berne and the city of Lausanne, which had afterwards important consequences.[3]

At the beginning of the year 1526, the

[1] Ru. i. 338-9. [2] Ib. 332—338, 355-6.
[3] Ib. 339—343.

proposal of a discussion or disputation, to be held at Baden, was renewed. The proposition came from the cantons, assembled at Lucerne. At first only five cantons concurred in it; while Berne objected to it altogether, but thought, that, if the meeting took place at all, it should rather be at Basle, the seat of an university, and the residence of numerous learned men, than at Baden. The government of Basle, however, had no ambition of the honour of having such an assembly held in their city. Afterwards six, and ultimately twelve cantons acceded to the measure. Faber, Eckius, and Thomas Murner, a Franciscan professor of divinity at Lucerne, were zealous promoters of it; and so also certain Austrians and Suabians are said to have been, who flattered themselves with a triumphant result, and hoped that, if the reformation were overthrown in Switzerland, it would not long survive in Germany. The three persons above named were commissioned specially to solicit the bishops of Constance, Basle, Sion, and Lausanne to send their representatives and divines; and all those prelates promised to comply with the request. But in the very Acts published by the party which had proposed the meeting, and even in the invitations by which they summoned their friends to attend it, the views and principles by which they were actuated were made manifest. They disclaimed all idea of having the power, any more than the will, to make any religious changes—however they might become convinced that such changes were called for: as good and dutiful sons they were resolved, at all events, to adhere steadfastly to their holy mother, the church of Rome: but they desired to put down the doctrine of Luther and

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Disputation of Baden. 1526.

April.

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Zwingle, as productive of unnumbered evils, and to reclaim the people, who had been led astray.—The disputation was to commence on the sixteenth of May; and Zwingle and the other divines of Zuric were invited to attend it. But the council refused them leave to go, on grounds similar to those which they had assigned on the former occasion: and Zwingle himself entertained the same views of the design formed against him as he had before done. The place, he said, was peculiarly suitable for the execution of such a design, from the numerous persons of all descriptions who resorted to the baths from which the town derived its name: and his enemies had before this time given orders for his being seized and carried off to Lucerne. Eckius, a prime mover of the present measure had said, that fire and sword were the proper weapons with which to contend against the heretics; and nothing was to be expected, nothing was even proposed which could be considered as the fair and legitimate object of a discussion: it would be "extreme folly in him, therefore, to expose himself to certain and imminent danger, without any prospect of promoting the honour and the diffusion of the word of God." He then again pointed out the only principles on which a discussion could be conducted, so as to be likely to lead to any good result. The written word of God must be the sole rule of judgment, and every man must feel himself at liberty to speak his sentiments freely. He also renewed his offer of attending a meeting at Berne, S. Gallen, or some other place, if Zuric were not approved.[1]

[1] Zwingle published his letter, from which these sentiments have been extracted. It is found Op. ii. fo. 572—575, whence Gerdes has copied it, (ii. Doc. No. 16,) as throwing

The cantons however persisted in their plan, and the council of Zuric adhered to its resolution, assigning among other reasons, "that the cantons had already entered into a treaty with the archduke of Austria, and the other princes of the Suabian league, to crush the reformed." The cantons sent to Zuric a safe-conduct for Zwingle, and even offered hostages for his security. The former however was couched in such terms as rather served to aggravate the distrust which was felt. It purported to protect him "so long as he conducted himself in a manner which did not violate the safe-conduct granted him:" on which he himself remarks, "As soon as I should say any thing spirited against the pope, they would charge me with having violated the terms of my protection, and contend, as they did in the case of Huss, at Constance, that no safe-conduct could protect a heretic." * A. D. 1526.

Certain other events which occurred at this juncture had any other tendency rather than to allay suspicion. On the tenth of May, only six days before the meeting was to take place, Faber, as official of the bishop of Constance, with two abbots, and some doctors of law, held a consistory at Mersburg, near Constance, for the examination of John Huglin, minister of Lindau; when, after having required him to renounce Lutheranism, which he refused to do, they condemned him to be degraded and delivered over to the secular arm to be burned: which cruel punishment the good man endured with Christian constancy, offering up prayers for his persecu- Martyrdom of Huglin and Spengler.

light on the state of things at the time, and justifying Zwingle from the charge of declining a fair hearing before the highest authority in Switzerland.

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tors. Another reformed preacher also, Peter Spengler, was seized by order of the bishop of Constance, and drowned at Friburg in Brisgau.[1]

Proceedings at Baden.

The meeting at Baden was held at the time appointed, and was attended by a large number of persons, most of them devoted Romanists. Œcolampadius, Haller, Weissenburg, Burgawer, Wetter, and several other reformed ministers from Basle, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, Appenzel, and Mulhausen, also presented themselves; ready to take a part in the debate. Erasmus was solicited to give his assistance: but, as usual, he excused himself on the plea of delicate health. It may be thought that as Œcolampadius appeared, and was exposed to no violence, Zwingle might have done the same. It is impossible, of course, to determine what the event would have been, but we must remember, that none of the reformed ministers held the place that Zwingle did: there was no one whom the enemies of the reformation so much desired to see taken off: neither had any one of the places from which they came rendered itself so obnoxious as Zuric had done. A greater risk of injury to their cause would have been incurred, and with much less hope of advantage, by seizing Œcolampadius than by capturing Zwingle. Œcolampadius is said at first to have felt dissatisfaction at the absence of his friend, but afterwards to have written to him, "I thank God that you are not here. The turn which matters have taken makes me clearly perceive, that had you been here we should *neither* of us have escaped the stake."[2]

[1] Ru. i. 356—363. Gerd. ii. 306, 308. [2] Hess, 249.

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It will not be necessary to enter into the details of this disputation, especially as we shall see it abundantly proved, that the Acts were never published but in a very corrupted state. It lasted eighteen days, during which no sermons were permitted except from the Roman-catholic preachers; and processions were celebrated with great pomp and ostentation. Eckius was throughout the leading character; and, next to him, Murner. For the former a splendid chair was placed; and a very humble one for Œcolampadius, as the leader on the other side. Eckius proposed to maintain seven theses, chiefly asserting the doctrines of the mass, the invocation of the saints, the use of images, and purgatory: and Murner added two to them, justifying the adoration of the host, and the withholding of the cup from the laity, and attacking the alienation of church property as injustice and robbery. It does not appear, however, that Murner's articles were ever discussed, he having only read them, and added a few words upon each, in which he cast rude reproaches upon the character and honour, as well as upon the doctrines of Zwingle. It was observed that no native Swiss came forward on this occasion in defence of the Romish tenets: nearly the whole support of them devolved on Eckius, who was even a stranger to the country. It was also made a matter of complaint, that, while Eckius and those of his party indulged in whatever declamations they pleased, the speakers on the other side were silenced as soon as they uttered any thing free and spirited in reply to their adversaries, or against their doctrines. The two opening speeches are the only ones which we will

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notice. Eckius began by complaining of the new doctors, as wishing "to rob the church of the precious treasure of the body and blood of Christ," and as charging her with idolatry and many other grievous offences: and he demanded of Œcolampadius now to assign the reasons for such charges, and "swore by the holy Virgin and all the saints that he would answer him manfully in the name of the church." Œcolampadius, in reply, wished, before he proceeded further, to obviate three injurious prejudices which prevailed against his party, namely, that they taught a new doctrine —that they condemned all their ancestors—and that they discountenanced, or even interdicted, good works. On the second of these prejudices, in addition to observations similar to those we have already heard from both Zwingle and the council of Zuric, he said, "God knows the degree of light which it has pleased him to afford to each individual: that which sufficed for the salvation of the thief, converted on the cross, would suffice for the salvation of others in like circumstances: we, whose study is theology, ought not to be so forward to judge and condemn others," whose circumstances we cannot know, "for causes of inferior importance." As he extended his introductory remarks to some length, Eckius rudely interrupted him, bidding him come to the point, boasting that he himself was there "on the part of the Duke of Bavaria," (in whose university of Ingoldstadt he was professor,) to confute him; and adding other insulting expressions. Œcolampadius, resuming, answered, that for his part he felt it his honour to be there on the behalf of his Saviour Jesus Christ: it did not become him, he said, to injure a good cause by treat-

ing it in a perfunctory manner: he begged his opponent to abstain from offensive and haughty language, which could have no tendency to discover the truth; and added, that he hoped to be regarded as a Christian minister, deputed by the state in which he lived to confer on the all-important subject of religion, and not as a miserable wretch, who had the cord about his neck, ready to be burned for heresy. "I wish," said he, "to render a reason for my doctrine in the spirit of meekness, and I could fain desire that my adversaries would do the same." A. D. 1526.

At the close of the discussion, all the ecclesiastics present were desired to testify by their subscriptions their assent to the theses of Eckius, or to the sentiments of Œcolampadius in opposition to them. The great majority signed the former, while the reformed subscribed the latter, except that a few admitted the doctrine of the corporal presence. The deputies of nine cantons then joined in an edict assigning the victory to Eckius and his friends, and forbidding all innovations, under severe penalties. They likewise prohibited the sale of the works of Zwingle, Luther, and their followers; and the printing of any books which had not been examined and approved by commissioners to be appointed for that service. And, as Zwingle, "the author of the novel doctrine in Switzerland, had not appeared to answer for himself, they adjudged him and all who had not now retracted their errors, to be proscribed and excommunicated, as Luther had been by the emperor, Charles V, and pope Leo X."[1]—Though Zwingle remained at home, Decision in favour of the Roman catholics.

[1] Ru. i. 363—379. Gerd. ii. 307—309. Bullinger in Scultet. 97.

he was not an unconcerned or idle spectator of the distant combat. He addressed to the cantons a written refutation of Eckius's theses. Having notice also given him of what passed at Baden, he assisted his friends by the constant communication of his sentiments: and he published repeated answers to both Eckius and Faber, both of whom appear to have entered more or less into the controversy with him by writing; so that probably neither his labours nor his services on this occasion were less than they would have been, had he personally appeared at Baden.[1]

Their triumph not relied on.

The Romanists affected to make much of their victory at Baden: but strong circumstances are adduced to shew that they had little real confidence in it, and were ill-disposed to submit the proofs of it to public examination. Before the debate commenced, two secretaries were chosen by each party, and likewise two assistants, in whose presence the secretaries were to compare their minutes; and these minutes thus revised were to be put into the hands of the four presidents of the meeting, to be kept as authentic memorials of what passed. At the close of the proceedings, these Acts of the conference were committed to the custody of the bailiff of Baden, till further order should be taken respecting them. The cantons of Zuric, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, as

[1] Zuing. Op. ii. fo. 572—605. Gerd. ii. 308, 313. The testimony of his friend Myconius is strong to this point: "The labours of Zwingle at this time in hurrying up and down, meditating, watching, consulting, advising, and writing letters and papers which he sent to Baden, were more severe than they would have been had he actually disputed in the midst of his enemies—especially when it is considered how blind and ignorant an antagonist he would have had to contend with." De vit. Zuing. p. 7.

being parties concerned, and of equal authority with any others, demanded to be allowed to inspect them, but they were never permitted to see them: on which account they refused all further concern with them. The following year, when the reformed had done all in their power to urge and even compel the publication of the Acts,[1] the other nine cantons committed the care of printing them to Murner; and they were accordingly printed at Lucerne, but not till the year 1528; and then in the most negligent and slovenly manner—without any distinction of the several days of the discussion, any notation of pages, or other facilities for reference; with the omission of answers which were known to have been given; and with the addition of an offensive preface and conclusion by the editor. In short, Murner could never shake off the charge of having mutilated and corrupted the documents, to suit his own pleasure: and for this and other unwarrantable proceedings he may even be said to have afterwards suffered punishment, his own party being unable to defend or excuse him.[2] The practical fruits also of victory appeared to be with the reformed; for in many places (some of which have already been enumerated,) their cause evidently made progress immediately after the disputation of Baden, and in consequence of it.[3]

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It was at this time that Pellican was called from Basle to Zuric, to the professorship

Pellican's removal to Zuric.

[1] Gerd. ii. 310, 314, et inter. Doc. No. 17. epist. Capitonis.—Zwingle, writing to Faber, urges the withholding of the Acts as a proof that his party did not venture to hope for victory, but only to impose upon the world. Op. ii. 598.

[2] Ru. i. 374, 379—381, 394, 459—461, 466. ii. 402. iii. 147. Gerd. ii. 310-11, 313-14.

[3] Ru. i. 394.

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of Hebrew, which had been vacated by the early death of Ceporinus.[1] His modesty would have led him to decline an appointment for which he was eminently qualified; but the urgency of his friends overcame his objections, and he found cause to rejoice in the change he had made. At Basle he had been exposed to much contention: at Zuric he found comparative repose; and the society of the great and good men with whom he was associated was delightful to him.[2] He gave vent to his feelings, by commencing his lectures on the fifteenth chapter of Exodus in words to the following effect: "I thank my God, who has delivered me out of Egypt, and from Egyptian and papal bondage, and has made me to pass the Red Sea; so that I can join his saints in responding with a glad heart to the song of Moses, as his sister Miriam originally did, *Sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.*" He now first threw off his friar's frock, and soon after married. His settlement at Zuric added to the attractions which drew to that city many strangers, who rejoiced to find a place where they could both cultivate learning with advantage, and study and profess the gospel without molestation. The government of Zuric now also further aided the reformation, by the abolition of many of those redundant holidays, whose mischievous effects upon both business and morals have been before noticed.[3]

Proceedings at Berne. 1526.

At Berne there seemed for a time reason to fear a retrograde movement. The council indeed passed some acts tending to abridge the power of the clergy and the influence

[1] Above, p. 358. [2] See above p. 416, note.
[3] Mel. Ad. in Pel. 141. Gerd. ii. 317—319, 334. Ru. i. 381-2.

of the bishop; but the more zealous Roman-catholic cantons now prevailed upon the citizens in a popular assembly, though not without the opposition of many leading members of the council and other burghers, to resolve, that they would not separate themselves from the other cantons, and would make no innovations in religion; and, in order to this, even to forbid the reading of books contrary to the ancient faith; and to enjoin the removal of all married priests from their country. And very rashly and most improperly they bound themselves by an oath to adhere to this edict. Still, however, Haller, on his return from Baden, was well received, and confirmed in his office of pastor. But the senate, or little council, called him before them, and ordered him to celebrate the mass, on pain of deprivation and banishment. This he declined to do, and claimed to be heard before the supreme council. With difficulty this indulgence was granted him; but the council was much divided, and the debate upon the question became so stormy, that the people began to collect for the protection of their pastor. At length he obtained a peaceable hearing. He expressed his deep regret that he had proved the occasion of any discords among the magistrates or the citizens, and declared himself ready to quit the canton rather than this should continue to be the case. He was still most willing to have his doctrine tried by the sacred scriptures; and, if it were found that he had taught contrary to them, to submit to such punishment as he should be adjudged to deserve. He could not consent to celebrate mass, being convinced that it was a gross perversion of Christ's ordinance: but he would instantly resign his canonry, if

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May 21.

June 25.

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required so to do—for sorry should he be to have it thought that he preferred his own interest, either to truth and the glory of God, or to the peace of the city. He spoke, we are told, in so forcible and touching a manner that even some of his enemies were wrought upon. Little however to the honour of the council, (for in proportion as men are devoted to their work, and indifferent to their own interest, do they not deserve the consideration of those in whom church patronage is vested?) Haller's tender of the resignation of his canonry was accepted: though it was ordered, that, as was customary when such appointments were vacated, he should retain the emoluments for two years. His appointment as pastor was renewed, with the promise of a competent salary, and the direction, that, "in conformity with the former edicts, he should preach whatever could be proved from the word of God:" and his celebration of the mass was dispensed with. This decision gave so much dissatisfaction to some considerable families, that they were induced to remove from Berne.

November. Near the close of the year the magistrates ordered that Haller should preach three times in the week during advent and lent, in addition to his ordinary sermons and other duties. In his zeal for the edification of the people, he cheerfully undertook the service: and, when it was found impossible for him to continue so much labour, he was desired to seek for himself a suitable assistant. Francis Kolb, of Colbius, who had been a preacher at Berne fourteen years before, but had quitted his situation, and retired into a convent at Nuremberg, from discouragement at the disregard shewn for his zealous protests against merce-

nary warfare and other prevailing evils, was in consequence of this direction recalled, and became the coadjutor of Haller, and faithfully laboured at Berne till his death, in 1535, at the age of seventy years. The former preaching of this good man against the sins of the people among whom he was stationed, and his concern at their neglect of his admonitions, had the latter been restrained within due bounds, were highly laudable: but his quitting his post, and abandoning the endeavour to be useful, because he did not presently see the success he had hoped for, shewed him at that time to have grievously mistaken the path of duty. In his retirement, however, he had diligently applied himself to the study of the scriptures: and thus, no doubt, he became better informed, and in other respects also better qualified for future service. A. D. 1526. 1527. April.

In the month of April, 1527, the council of Berne, perceiving the bearings of the public mind, and convinced, we may presume, that even the oath which had been rashly taken could not bind the people for ever to retain their errors, resolved to bring before the communities of the country the two decrees, that of 1523 and that of 1526,[1] the one enjoining the free and unrestrained preaching of the word of God, and the other prohibiting all innovation; and to call upon them to make their election to which they would adhere. The decision was generally made in favour of the former: and the council, acting upon it, issued a new edict, cancelling the decree of the preceding year, restoring that of 1523, and making such additions to it as existing circum-

[1] Ru. i. 177, 386.

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stances seemed to require. The consequence was the rapid spread of the reformation in the canton, and before the end of the year, though no public abolition of the mass had taken place, that fundamental and idolatrous rite of the Romish church was renounced by numerous tribes in the city, and in many districts of the country.[1]

Basle.

At Basle, the singing of psalms in the vernacular tongue by the congregation at large, a practice now introduced into the churches by Œcolampadius, in the place of the chanting of Latin canticles by the clergy alone, produced a powerful effect. The people took so much pleasure in it, that, when some opposition was made to it, the congregations themselves continued it, without waiting for the announcement of a particular Psalm by the officiating minister. Œcolampadius therefore addressed a memorial upon the subject to the senate, in which he shews how spiritual and edifying an exercise the singing of the praises of God is; that it is "a work in which we have angels for our leaders; an excellent refreshment to the soul; a means of exciting us to prayer, and preparing us to hear the word of God with profit: a service, therefore, in which all classes, and not merely the clergy should join, with understanding of what is sung." His memorial had the effect of silencing opposition; and the practice of the public singing of psalms and hymns was established.[2] The number of communicants

[1] Ru. i. 382—390, 402-3, 490—492, 496—498. Gerd. ii. 312, 319—322, 327-8, 343—345.

[2] Erasmus has a pleasing passage on the singing of psalms in the vulgar tongue, in his epistle to Adrian VI. concerning Arnobius's commentary on the book of Psalms. He highly

also, who now received the sacrament of the Lord's supper in both kinds from the hands of Œcolampadius, greatly increased. The withholding of the Acts of the disputation of Baden gave great dissatisfaction at Basle; excited much distrust and suspicion against the Roman catholics; and induced the magistrates to allow more freely the printing of the works of the reformers in their city. In other places likewise the reformation made a steady progress.[1] A. D. 1526.

Measures of the cantons.

On the other hand, the zealous Roman-catholic cantons did not fail to exert themselves, and even to devise means for the extirpation of the reformed. The league, which formed the basis of the Helvetic union, contained an article providing that their confederation should be from time to time renewed.

applauds that work, though it was purposely written in a homely style. "Does any one ask," he says, "why Arnobius, who was an eloquent man, wrote these commentaries in plebeian language? In the first place, nothing was anciently more popular than the Psalms of David. From them the ploughman hummed verses after his plough, and the pilot at his helm, and the waterman at his oar, and the husbandman at his spade, and the weaver at his loom, and the housewife at her distaff. Nay, hence even children sung to their nurses before they could speak plainly. So great was the esteem formerly shewn for this divine music, which most even of the priests now despise! Arnobius therefore wished, that, what all delighted to sing, all should understand. He chose rather to prattle for the benefit of the many, than to display his eloquence to gain the applause of a few." Erasm. Epist. fol. col. 1649-50. On the other hand, the same writer speaks of the music in the Roman-catholic churches as "more fit for banquets or nuptials than for the worship of God;" complains that "sacred words were rendered unintelligible by the affected bellowing of the performers;" nay, that often "silly ditties of men supplanted divine hymns;" while "nothing but singing or chanting was heard in the churches." In Gerd. ii. 375.

[1] Ru. i. 392—394. Gerd. ii. 322—324.

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July.

Such a renewal the seven cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, Friburg, and Soleure resolved should now take place; but they determined that the cantons of Zuric and Basle, and the towns of S. Gallen and Mulhausen, should have no part in the renewal of the alliance with them. Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had not yet gone far enough to subject themselves to such an exclusion. With these four therefore the seven cantons renewed their relations; while the four did the same with the rejected states. Thus was the Swiss league, on the ground of religious differences, divided into two parts; though there remained, in the cantons common to the two, some connecting links to prevent the entire dissolution of their union.[1] Such a state of things tended directly to civil war; a fatal consummation, which, though it was warded off for some time longer, it is to be feared, neither party took due care to avert. The pope and the heads of the Romish church were glad to fan the flames of discord: but here, as in Germany, they were prevented from doing all they would have wished, by the occupation found in other quarters for the powers, on which they would principally have relied for support. Ferdinand had full employment in Hungary, and the pope and the king of France were at war with the emperor. The popish cantons endeavoured to draw the Vallois to join them against Zuric—an object in which they afterwards succeeded. These poor people were extremely ignorant: so much so, it is

[1] Probably also the failure of renewal did not amount to a dissolution of the union; for so it was provided in the original act of their association. Planta's Helv. Confed. i. 237.

said, as scarcely to know what was meant by the holy scriptures: but, led by some better informed persons, they at this time returned a very sensible answer to the application: "This," said they, "is a dispute about religion; and, as the people of Zuric profess themselves ready to be convinced from the scriptures, (which both parties acknowledge,) let it be left to be settled between the priests and the reformed ministers."[1] A. D. 1527.

Early in the year 1527, the four friendly cantons sent a deputation to Zuric, to deliberate with the council on the means of restoring the connexion of that canton with the seven which had rejected its alliance. The council put into their hands fourteen articles of complaint, which they had against the hostile cantons; one of which was, their having prohibited the reading of the scriptures, and of books founded on the scriptures, in Thurgau and other dependencies over which Zuric exercised jurisdiction in common with the opposing cantons. On this subject they pleaded on the true grounds of religious liberty. "Though every one," said they, "is subject to the supreme magistrate with respect to temporal goods, and external things, yet this extends not to matters affecting the soul and conscience. Here our subjection is only to God; and his laws alone can be acknowledged. On these subjects we can never submit to constraint, and to human judgment."[2] They concluded with repeating, that they could never give up their religion, till they were convinced from Firmness of Zuric,

[1] Ru, i, 397—401.

[2] I shall never cease to hail such sentiments, and on all fit occasions to present them to my readers, without any fear (whatever some may surmise,) of going contrary to the principles of the church of which I am a member.

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the word of God that it was wrong; and remarking, that "the treaties which bound the cantons together related not to religion, but to temporal safety, honour, and interest."—The seven cantons, on the other hand, being assembled at Lucerne, and feeling ill-satisfied with some late communications from Berne, particularly on the subject of the Acts of the disputation of Baden,[1] wrote to that state, calling upon it not to separate from its allies in the matter of religion, but to summon its communities to meet, and deliberate upon the question in a general assembly. Most presumptuously and offensively they added, that, in case the council refused to do this, they themselves would take upon them to inform the subjects of Berne of the design which their governors entertained to innovate in religion, and of the complaints which the other cantons had against them on that ground. To this insulting message the council replied, that they were determined to adhere to the sentiments they had lately expressed; (one of which was, that, if they found it expedient to introduce any changes within their own state, they should not feel it necessary to ask the advice of the seven cantons;) and that they did not deem it needful to convoke their people; much less would they suffer deputies from the other cantons to intrude among them. It was only a few weeks after this correspondence, that the important change of measures, which has been related above, took place at Berne.[2] The council at the same time sent a deputation to Friburg and Soleure, (with which they had special alliances,) to express their hope, that those

and of Berne. March 7.

[1] Ru. i. 459—461.

[2] Above p. 561-2.

cantons would not hastily concur in a conspiracy against them, but would observe the treaties existing between them; and also to entreat them not to persist in excluding Zuric from the confederation. Their answer was favourable, at least as respected Berne: and we shall find that, in speaking of the zealous Roman-catholic cantons, we have in the sequel to treat rather of "the five" than of "the seven." Friburg and Soleure took no part in the war in which these disputes terminated: indeed, as belonging to the number of the "new" and "neutral" cantons, they were bound not to do it.[1] A. D. 1527.

A general diet of the cantons was soon after held at Berne, at which the means of reuniting the whole confederation were considered; but the grounds of division were found too important, and the spirits of men too much embittered, to allow of a successful issue to their deliberations. While some also were studying to promote union, others seemed bent only upon widening the breach and inflaming resentment. Among the latter, Murner distinguished himself by a furious book directed against Zuric and Berne. Zwingle in reply addressed the cantons, demanding justice to be done him with respect to the calumnies of Murner, whom he offered to meet before the diet; complaining that the Acts of Baden were withheld from the four cantons which demanded them, and that they were now committed to the hands of such a man as Murner. He also renewed his offer to dispute with Faber, Eckius, and Murner in any independent and fair place. But his address produced no effect.[2]

[1] Above, p. 327.

[2] Ru. i. 461—468.

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Nor was it only within the limits of Switzerland, and from their immediate neighbours, that the reformed now encountered enemies, and suffered disturbance. The regency of Austria[1] seized all such revenues of hospitals, religious houses, and other institutions, belonging to Zuric and Berne, as arose within the territories subject to the Austrian jurisdiction. The two cantons, being unable to obtain any redress, were driven to adopt measures of reprisal.

Proceedings of the Austrian Regency.

Towards Mulhausen, which, it will be remembered, though a member of the confederation, lay without the limits of Switzerland, the same power acted with still greater harshness. The regency accused this little state to the cantons, of having countenanced the rebellious subjects to the house of Austria in Alsace; and, not content with that, and as if to shew the real ground of quarrel with it, they confiscated the goods of the ministers of the town; and even seizing the persons of two of them carried them off to Einsisheim, and there beheaded them. They seized a third in his church; but the citizens pursuing the captors rescued him. This the regency made a fresh ground of charge, and of long-continued proceedings against the town. The inhabitants in vain implored the succour of their allies: but at length the cantons, being assembled at Lucerne, sent deputies to Mulhausen to inquire into the state of religion there, promising protection to the place in case things were put upon their ancient footing in that respect, but declaring that unless this were done they would abandon it to its fate. The council nobly replied, "That

Mulhausen harassed.

Martyrdoms.

[1] Probably the Council of Regency, governing in the absence of the emperor.

they had directed their ministers to preach to them the unadulterated word of God, and in compliance with that word had abolished some intolerable abuses; that, if any would now charge their teachers with having delivered to them unscriptural doctrine, they would put them upon their defence; but that, great as was their desire to meet the wishes of their allies, they could not in compliance with them go contrary to their consciences." They sent deputations to solicit the good offices of Berne and Soleure: both which towns zealously pleaded their cause in the diets, but without effect. They were still persecuted by the Austrians and neglected by the cantons. All this however did not overcome their resolution, or prevent their going on to perfect their reformation, in the year following, by the removal of images and pictures, the objects of superstitious veneration, from their churches.[1] A. D. 1527. 1528.

Account of Cappel.

Cappel has not been before particularly noticed in our history. This place, situate midway between the towns of Zuric and Zug, was the seat of a monastery, of which Wolfgang Joner was the present abbot. We have seen that he was a supporter of the reformation, and the friend of Zwingle; by whose means he had been led to the knowledge of divine truth. As far back as the year 1523, he had appointed the celebrated Bullinger reader in theology in his monastery; and that great man continued during six years to labour there indefatigably, to enlighten and improve the inhabitants and those who resorted thither; preaching in the abbey church, and in various neighbouring places, as well as lecturing in the monastery.

Bullinger.

[1] Ru. i. 468—470. ii. 264. Gerd. ii. 348-9.

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In the year 1526, the mass was superseded by the eucharist administered with primitive simplicity. The year following the whole society, with the abbot at their head, "considering that monasteries were designed to be places of instruction for training youth in religion and good learning," and that they had now ceased to answer such a purpose, surrendered their establishment into the hands of the lords of Zuric: by whom, in concert with the abbot, it was converted into a college, from which many learned and excellent men have proceeded; and the property of the convent was strictly appropriated, and faithfully applied, to the three objects of supporting scholars, relieving the poor, and improving the salaries of the ministers of the gospel.—The church was made a parochial one, and three neighbouring villages were attached to it as such.[1]

Proceedings at Basle.

At Basle some further changes now occurred. The bishop, Christopher d'Uttenheim, worne down with age, and harassed with the difficulties of the times, resigned his bishopric in February, 1527, and died a month after. His coadjutor, Nicholas de Diesbach, so far from aspiring to succeed him, as he might have expected to do, resigned his office also. Philip de Gundelsheim, a native of Franconia, was appointed to the bishopric: but he never set foot in Basle; apparently because the affairs of the church succeeded so little according to his wishes. The Roman-catholic preachers, however, among whom Augustine Marius, pastor of the cathedral, and titular bishop of Salona, was distinguished, used their utmost efforts to support their tottering cause: and, as

[1] Ru. i. 329, 470—474. Gerd. ii. 319, 349.

contentions hence arose which were unfavourable alike to religious edification and to the peace of the city, Œcolampadius proposed to Marius a public discussion, either vivâ voce or by writing, in which their differences might be fairly examined. Marius was so much offended at the proposal, that he complained of it to the magistrates as a proceeding which called for their animadversion. The magistrates, however, as the mass was a main point in dispute, and that on which they themselves felt most difficulty, ordered each party to present to them in writing their reasons, the one for believing that the mass was a most sacred divine ordinance, a sacrifice expiatory of the sins of the living and the dead; the other for regarding it as an abomination in the sight of God—a sacrilegious insult to "the one offering of Jesus Christ." The reformed readily complied with the demand; and presented a writing signed by Œcolampadius and Jerome Bothan, his curate, Mark Bersi, pastor of S. Leonard's church, and Balthasar Foegheli, his curate, Wolfgang Weissenburg, minister of the Hospital, Thomas Gheirfalk, minister of the church of the Augustins, and John Luthard, of that of the Franciscans. Marius also presented his reasons in writing, but accompanied by a protest, that this was not to be taken in prejudice of the rights and authority of the bishop and chapter, his lawful superiors, who disapproved of submitting such subjects to the consideration of the civil magistrate. Much discussion followed: but it ended for the present in the magistrates authorizing each party to act with respect to the mass as their consciences dictated, but requiring them to restrain their mutual attacks upon each other, that they

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might not break the peace of the town. The number of holidays, however, was now much abridged by the authority of the magistrates: and both the Augustin and Franciscan monks surrendered their convents, and quitted the habits of their respective orders.[1]

Letter of Capito to Basle.

At a time when our history is painfully barren of spiritual and edifying matter, and the proceedings of diets and magistrates occupy too large a share of our attention, it may be some relief to the Christian reader to peruse a letter which Capito wrote from Strasburg "to his brethren at Basle," in the midst of the present unsettled, and even disturbed state of their affairs. It is dated September, 1527, and is as follows: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, brethren beloved in the Lord! Our brother who brings you this letter has begged me to write to you, to express our good wishes, and to suggest any suitable reflections that may present themselves. I have undertaken the service, and proceed to perform it as time will permit, and the Lord shall enable me.—In the first place, we cannot but judge you very happy, in that, after having tasted the good word of God, you are now undergoing purification from the corruptions of the flesh by means of affliction. For from (these) private lessons[2] you derive a subdued spirit, of which they remain destitute, who, while they riot in the unrestrained use of the word, live in sloth and injurious ease. For it is more easy to keep fish alive without water, than to preserve spirituality of mind amid the smiles of the world. *He* gives us assurance of this who declares, that unless we take up

[1] Ru. i. 474—479. Gerd. ii. 345—348. Œc. et Z. Epist. fo. 203.

[2] "Privatis sermonibus."

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our cross daily, and follow him, we cannot be his disciples. The disciple is not to enjoy a better condition than his master. They persecuted him, and we must expect that they will persecute us. So the matter stands: we hate the world, and the world hates us. But this is in different senses: they, from hatred of the glory of God, seek to destroy us; while we, impelled by zeal for the divine honour, hate nothing in them but what spoils them for the Creator's service, and tends to their own destruction. We earnestly desire, if it may accord with the will of God, to reclaim them from the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, to the enjoyment of eternal felicity. Are you then branded with public ignominy? This does but lead to that everlasting glory which is reserved for God's elect. Are you deprived of your goods and fortunes? You shall receive a hundred fold more, and in the world to come eternal life. Are you banished your country, and put to a shameful death? In heaven you have an enduring city, and shall enjoy a blissful immortality. They, therefore, who, with Christ, gain the victory over their enemies by laying down their lives, triumph in a better world ere the flames can well have consumed their bodies in this world. For, as to the "sleep" of the departed saints, that refers only to their bodies resting in the dust.—So far, then, from being afflicted when we hear of the deaths of the unshaken confessors of the faith, we magnify the glory and power of the Lord in them, with minds overflowing with joy—even though numbers should daily be thus transmitted to Christ. For we see the minds of the weak and doubting even confirmed by such

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examples. In proportion, therefore, to the testimony given to the power and grace of the exalted Saviour, the brand of infamy may be esteemed the badge of honour, to those who avow the faith, and suffer for it. The number, indeed, of those who sacrifice their lives among you is smaller, because such is the will of God, that the tender plants being only, as it were, watered by the gentle rains may grow up into strong trees. Nor do I doubt that you will find these gifts of God bestowed upon you more richly than I, with my small measure of the Spirit, can set forth: for, when the persecutor rages, and surrounding circumstances are alarming, we fly to God more promptly and effectually than he can do, with his utmost efforts, who is at ease, and surrounded with worldly comforts. I realize to myself, that, as you constantly occupy the field of battle, you daily find in your hearts a lively experience of the love of God; since the most assured sense of God's presence is produced when his fatherly providence rescues us from snares, and delivers us from dangers, and the strength of his grace banishes human timidity and weakness. But especially is this effect [this assured sense of the divine presence with us] produced, when, as afflictions abound, consolations superabound; which you will find still more and more to be the case as you advance beyond the first elementary steps of religion—as indeed I must judge that you have already done, from your discerning, with such happy unanimity, the glory of Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist. In the mean time be watchful, and earnest in prayers to God that he would suffer you to embrace nothing contrary to his glory and the analogy of the faith. Such a

course is highly necessary: for the simplicity of pious minds is assailed by various writings from all sides: so that there is need for the utmost caution in *trying the spirits, whether they be of God.* In this important work you may receive excellent assistance from a small publication by Martin Borrhaus, intitled, 'Concerning the works of God,' which I beg you to study diligently and devoutly, and to receive so much of it as you shall find the Spirit setting his seal to within your hearts: for we must take care not to profess outwardly before men what we have not an inward conviction of in our hearts—since *whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* Our brother Guithelmus, the bearer of this letter, will inform you of the state and progress of our church. The servants of God here commend him to you affectionately. The Lord preserve you! Amen."[1] A. D. 1527.

This assuredly is a letter worthy of the primitive and best times of the church. Such documents as these discover to us the true spirit of the reformers, and must fill the Christian heart with veneration and love for their memory. The epistle before us breathes all that deadness to the world, that reconciliation to its frowns, and sense of the danger of its smiles, that confidence in God, and rejoicing in tribulation undergone for Christ's sake, that fervent love of the brethren, and genuine benevolence for all men, even enemies and persecutors, which marked the apostles of Christ, and their associates and immediate successors.—It is full also of lessons for our own times. It describes that very languor, and apathy, and worldliness of spirit, into which our external repose betrays Remarks.

[1] We are indebted for this letter to Scultetus, Annal. 119; whence it is copied by Gerdes, vol. ii. Doc. No. 20.

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us. Nor was the caution at the close, concerning "proving all things, and holding fast that," and that only, "which is good," ever more necessary than it is for us; for now also "the simplicity of the pious is assailed by various writings from all sides," of which not even all that proceed from good men can be safely received; and the diversity of which exposes many to the danger of retaining nothing steadily and firmly. Great need therefore have we "to watch, and to pray that God would not suffer us to embrace any thing contrary to his glory, and the analogy of the faith"—the standing doctrine of his true church, drawn from the scriptures, and handed down through all generations.

One point in the epistle must excite in us some surprize—namely, its strong representation of the persecutions to which the church was then exposed. We have seen some instances in Switzerland, and others occurred in Germany; and we may well suppose the state in which the reformed lived to be sufficiently harassing: but we should not, perhaps, have fully expected the views exhibited by Capito's letter. He must have better known, however, what was passing around him, than we can know it from the imperfect records of history, apart from such private and confidential communications as that now before us.

Schaffhausen, 1526.

We intimated that at Schaffhausen the reformation received a check by the expulsion of Hoffmeister and Hoffman. Both the magistrates and the clergy seem to have been intimidated. The former appear not to have been averse to establish the reformation: but the consideration of the superior numbers and power of its opponents, both within Switzerland

and beyond its boundaries, overawed them. The conflict therefore between their convictions, perhaps their inclinations, and their fears rendered their conduct vacillating. They first confirmed the old form of worship: soon after they resolved to leave every one at liberty to attend mass or the contrary, as he pleased. Then they ordered the clergy to celebrate mass or forfeit their benefices: on which even those who had with warmth preached against that superstitious and idolatrous rite complied, and contented themselves with retaining their sentiments without avowing them. It is instructive, though painful, to contemplate such facts. The course thus adopted is too natural to us; but let it be deeply imprinted upon our minds, before the time of trial may come, that such a temporizing policy is never the line of duty, of honour, of happiness, or of safety. Those who are involved in the trial, or, in other words, are exposed to the temptation, may contrive to reconcile their consciences to it; but such a course is never approved when looked back upon, either by the persons themselves, or by any more impartial spectators, who judge by the word of God. "To follow the Lord fully," and leave all consequences with him, is the only right path.—Alas! how much was the spirit of faith, which pervades the letter of Capito, now wanting at Schaffhausen! The leading men, the men of decision, were driven away, and pusillanimity in consequence prevailed. Even Erasmus Ritter now persuaded himself that Hoffmeister had hurt the cause by excessive zeal: (alas! where one man hurts the cause of God in that way, a hundred will generally be found to hurt both it and themselves by lukewarmness and timidity!)

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and hence he himself proceeded with great caution. He appears, however, to have been upright on the whole; and the confidence which he expressed in the steadfastness of his flock, and in the final triumph of the truth at Schaffhausen, was, through God's mercy, not disappointed. But the Romanists were for the time emboldened, and failed not to advance wherever their opponents receded. Those who on the approach of death had recourse to the ceremonies of the church were buried with honour, while to others religious rites were refused at their interment: and by external circumstances of this kind the popular mind is frequently more influenced than by the most weighty considerations. [1]

Glaris. 1527.

The state of things in Glaris, at this period, seems to have resembled that at Schaffhausen: though there also it subsequently became more favourable. [2]

S. Gallen. 1526.

At S. Gallen the reformation decidedly gained ground. It was in the year 1526 that Vadian was elected first magistrate; and under his zealous and able direction the citizens followed closely in the steps of Zuric. A conference was held in the town with some divines of the neighbourhood; after which all images and pictures were removed from the parish church; and a consistory was established for deciding matrimonial causes, and administering ecclesiastical discipline. Superfluous festivals were abolished. Wetter would no more celebrate the mass. Burgawer and some others retained it a few months longer, and then successively discontinued it. The pastors of the town, with those of Appenzel, and some from the lands

[1] Ru. i. 394-5, 479-80. Gerd. ii. 324, 349.
[2] Ru. i. 323, 480-1. Gerd. ii. 296, 350, 367.

of the abbey of S. Gallen, and the Rheinthal, met in a kind of synod, and agreed on regulations for their churches, and on renewing their meeting periodically. The next year, after mature deliberation, rules were drawn up for the celebration of the sacraments and other parts of divine service, and for the ordering generally of affairs connected with religion. Extraordinary attention was also paid to the relief of the poor. The citizens founded a house of charity for the reception of those whose necessities required it; and many sold their jewels and other valuables, and gave the proceeds for their support. The magistrates applied to the same object the superfluous funds of the religious houses, and the sums raised by disposing of certain ornaments withdrawn from the churches. Whether the particular measures adopted may be approved or not, let it not be said, with such instances of private as well as public liberality before us, and with even the general practice as presented to us in this history, that the reformation superseded the care of the poor, while the Romish church systematically made provision [3] for them.

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In the Tockenburg a general assembly of the people was held in the month of August, 1527, at which all the inhabitants, whether natural born subjects or not, were allowed to attend— "because," said their governors, "religion and the glory of God, which are to be the topics for deliberation, are equally the concern of all men." After this meeting, the images and altars were demolished through a great part of the country. The abbot of S. Gallen, who

Tockenburg.

[3] Ru. i. 395-6, 481-2. Gerd. ii. 326-7, 333.

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had jurisdiction over the Tockenburg, expostulated strongly against such proceedings, and even appeared personally in the council to oppose them: but his efforts were unavailing.

The Anabaptists.

The anabaptists still continued to trouble Switzerland, and ran into incredible extravagancies and enormities, amounting in one instance at least to the deliberate commission of murder. A young man, in the presence of his father and a numerous family, demanded to take off the head of his brother, under the pretence of imitating Abraham's sacrifice of his son, and the brother actually submitted to the execution, with the exclamation, "Father, thy will be done!"[1] At this period also it was, that the severe laws against these infatuated people began to be carried into effect in the reformed cantons. But into so painful and revolting a history I am little disposed to inquire, or to add to the statements of my learned predecessor.[2]

[1] Œc. et Z. Epist. fo. 91. Ru. i. 418—421, 453—458. Gerd. ii. 325, 335-6.---See also Scultet. 77---79. Zuing. Op. ii. 7---39, or Epist. 81---113.

[2] Milner, v. 496, 504---514. (1095, 1104---1114.) Mantz was drowned by the sentence of the magistrates of Zuric, in January, 1527. It should be observed, that one learned historian of recent date denies, that Zwingle was ever so far wrought upon by the vexatious and even outrageous conduct of the anabaptists, as to countenance capital punishment for simple rebaptization—a crime of which Dr. Milner finds him guilty. Weisman, Introd. in Hist. Sacr. i. p. 1585. Hess roundly denies the reformer's ever having proved "unfaithful to his principles of tolerance." pp. 235, 240. But his is not a work of sufficient research to be relied on in such a question. Gerdes in treating of these subjects quotes a sentence of the emperor Maximilian's, which, as coming from such a quarter, deserves to be transcribed. He is reported to have said: "all other things are subject to human laws; religion alone cannot be the subject either of compulsion or of (human) command." Ger. ii. 336.

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